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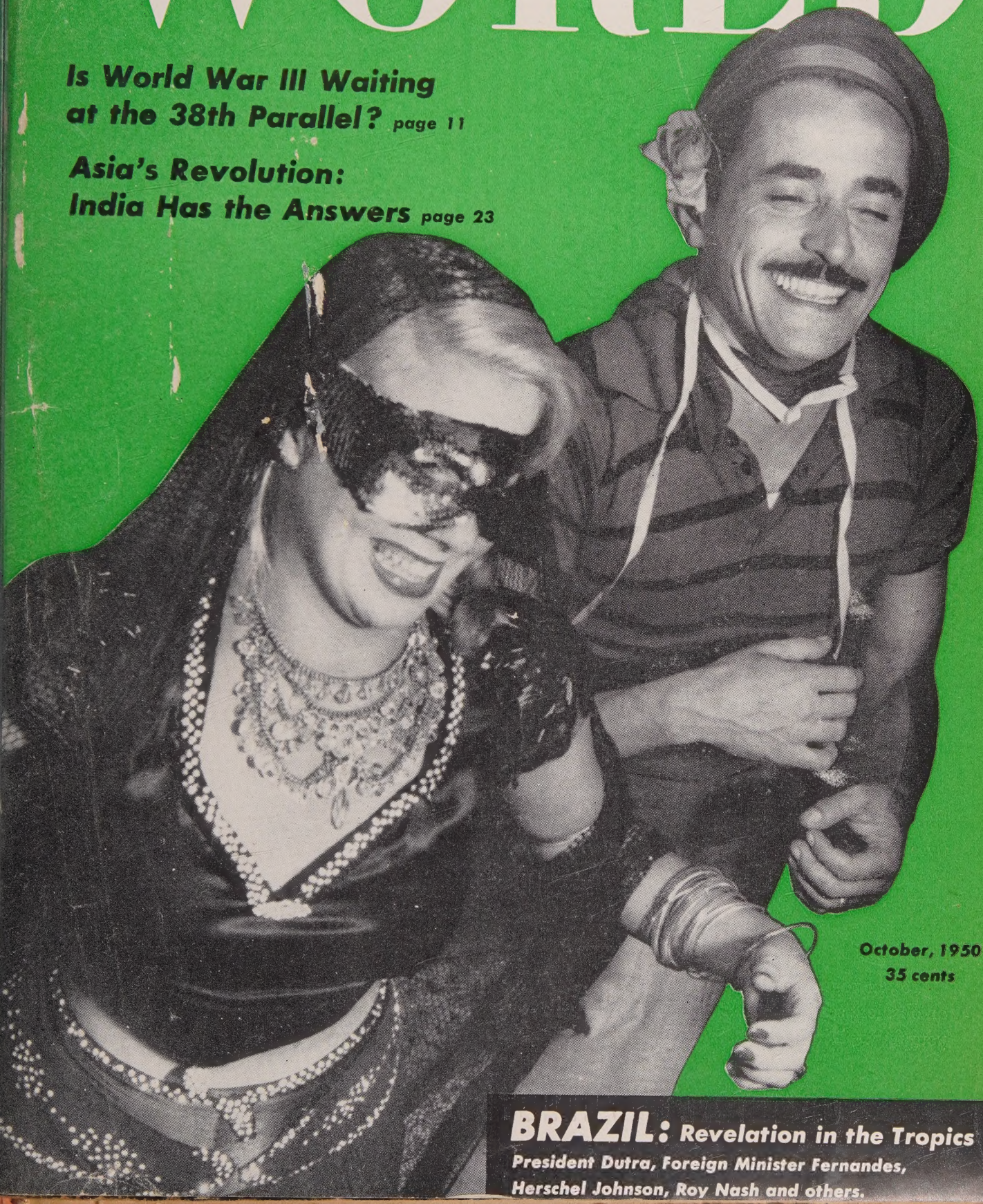
DOES STALIN WANT PEACE? page 17

United Nations WORLD

Is World War III Waiting at the 38th Parallel? page 11

Asia's Revolution: India Has the Answers page 23



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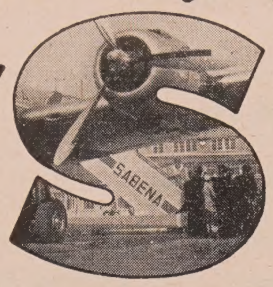

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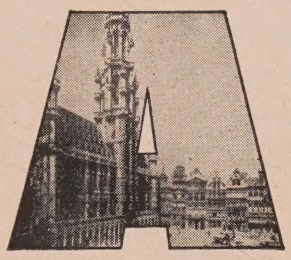

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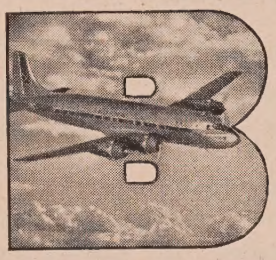

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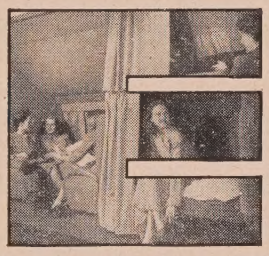

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Europe Expects Dramatic Soviet About Face

Latest tactical change may involve rapprochement with Wes

Because the grand strategy of the Soviet Union for 1950 has gone wrong, the Politburo is mapping a sensational new diplomatic campaign.

The Soviet expectation was that Korea would result in an unquestionable Soviet victory, that Communist China would gain Formosa, that Europe would be witnessing grave strike waves, and that the Atlantic Pact would remain at the planning stage.

Exactly the contrary has happened. Korea's independence has become a matter of life and death to the United Nations, Formosa a matter which the UN will take up, the strike wave in Europe did not materialize, and the Atlantic Pact is becoming a decisive military factor.

The Soviet Government, being very realistic, cannot fail to draw the necessary conclusion from this general failure.

The Kremlin fully expects that Mr. Vyshinski's supreme propaganda attempt at the General Assembly of the United Nations will prove a dud, an is prepared to bring about a radica change in Soviet foreign policy.

A member of the governin body of the French Socialist Part (Comité Directeur du Parti So cialiste) who has kept in clos touch with Soviet development revealed to this column that ther are persistent rumors of a come back of Messrs. Maxim Litvino and Ivan Maisky, the two protago nists of a more conciliatory att tude toward the West.

Because of his age and state o health, Litvinov might not take on full-time job, but would become a son of elder statesman whose advice woul again be followed by the Soviet Gov ernment. Maisky, who is muc younger and who has in the past es tablished excellent relations, particu larly in London, might emerge in very powerful political position.

There are a few important symp toms which strengthen this concep tion.

The tough policy of the Soviets and the violent language of the European Communist parties have failed to frighten the European governments and have further isolated the Communist forces. The strengthening of Europe's defenses in closest cooperation with the US has been accepted by all political parties of Europe, except the Communist. There is definite confirmation, particularly from Poland, that there are no Soviet troop movements of any importance toward Germany. The only fact which has been noticed is that a limited number of armored cars and small and medium tanks have been sent to the East German "Volkspolizei."

The time for military action in the near future on the part of the Soviets is running out. The only tense point remains in Yugoslavia, whose government is being branded as the supreme evil by Bulgarian and Rumanian Cominformists.

Tito's regime, far from frightened, is fighting back and is establishing innumerable contacts with intellectuals in Europe who previously cooperated with the Communists.

As a matter of fact, the Titoists are the first to have taken eminent writers away from pro-Communist movements. Jean Cassou, Claude Aveline and Louis Martin-Chauffier are the most recent advocates of closer cooperation with the Yugoslavs, and Cassou is starting open attacks against the Cominform.

The Communist-controlled French trade unions, CGT, are losing hundreds of thousands of active members. Similarly in the Italian trade union movement, the ardor of the rank and file has simmered down considerably.

In Western Europe, the political strike can be eliminated as a real danger to internal security. The only hold the Communists have is confined to purely professional questions such as wage demands, minimum income, etc. Non-Communist trade unionists are making every effort to obtain from employers through negotiation, satisfaction of the justified demands of the workers. As Leon Jouhaux, veteran French labor leader, put it to this column, "the strength of the Communists depends upon the employers."

Growing

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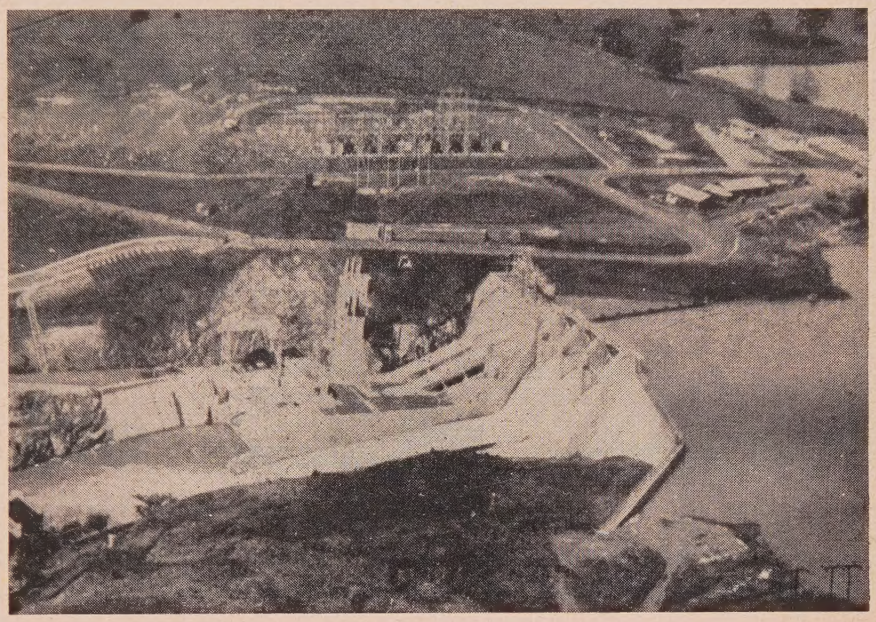

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Baruch Plan and Eastern Europe

At a meeting of the World Federation of United Nations Associations there were some interesting developments. Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Hungary were represented by delegations of United Nations Associations. There is no doubt that all four delegations had the official blessings of their governments. Despite the fact that they were decisively beaten on Korea, the overwhelming majority of the Federation supported UN action instead of walking out.

In the discussion on the atomic energy resolution, they did not vote against the following paragraph:

> ***The World Federation "urges that a general agreement should be adopted prescribing the absolute prohibition and suppression of atomic weapons, concurrently with the establishment of a system of inspection and control adequate to insure the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes only."***

This paragraph is followed by the reassertion of a previous resolution concerning "effective provision for continuous international supervision." This is very far from the Stockholm appeal. Some observers point out that the Soviet Government might be willing to go along these lines when the change in foreign policy occurs. The only thing on which the Soviets will remain adamant is the "supra-national ownership" of atomic materials.

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Africa—
Urals of the west

Among the greatest fears of Europe, in case of war, are the Soviet submarines. The problem of submarines is becoming one of the main preoccupations of European military strategists.

The general theory is that even if there are sufficient troops by the end of 1951 or 1952 to resist the first wave of assault of the Soviet armies, parts of Europe can be defended only if materials and men flow regularly from the US and other overseas allied territories. Many experts doubt whether this can be done because of the immense submarine strength of the Soviet Union.

In 1939, Germany had only 57 submarines, while the lowest figure for the Soviet Union is 300. Furthermore, 100 of these are of the most modern type and benefit by the latest German improvements. The submarine known as Type XXI is the one which the Soviets seem to prefer. The expectation in Europe is that if it should come to war the Soviet submarines might be the first ones in action, and be in fighting positions as the first gun is fired.

Most of the Russian submarines are in the Baltic Sea, the smaller ones in the Black Sea, and there is a very important base in the Bay of Valona on the Albanian island of Saseno. (This explains, incidentally, the importance the Russians are attaching to Albania.)

Should the Mediterranean and the North Atlantic be paralyzed to a considerable extent by the submarines, then America may have to go as far as Dakar to unload its material. Even Casablanca may not be safe. The material would have to be transported over immense distances from Bamako, terminus of the railroad from Dakar in French Senegal to North Africa. Air transport might be used, but it would take one thousand cargo planes to transport a single division. Air bridges of the Berlin type are out of the question over long distances. It is almost impossible to build through desert roads which would support the day and night transport of heavy material.

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SOW *continued*

Africa is being considered more and more as the vital "Hinterland," the Urals of Europe. England is developing its center strength, while France is thinking of creating one of the most extraordinary railways connecting her African possessions.

This, too, Made News

Anti-Semantics

That language problems—and especially the lack of equivalent idiomatic expressions—are more often than not at the root of international misunderstanding was hilariously demonstrated at the September 12 meeting of the UN Security Council.

Following an unusually lengthy tirade by Soviet representative Jacob A. Malik, Chinese Nationalist delegate Tingfu F. Tsiang caustically remarked that Mr. Malik had spent several hours of the Council's time and much of his excess energy in futilely trying to prove that white was black, and black was white. After Dr. Tsiang's comments, the Soviet delegate once more asked for the floor, and solemnly called the previous speaker to task for interjecting racist theories in the august deliberations of the Security Council. Such remarks were an insult, he added, to the 14,000,000 Negroes in the United States . . . As the simultaneous interpretation of Mr. Malik's words came over the earphones, the Council chamber—delegates, advisers, translators, press and public—burst into a roar of laughter. Jovial Secretary-General Trygve Lie was the picture of merriment, Warren Austin's pince-nez shook precariously when its wearer leaned back and roared, Council President Sir Gladwyn Jebb found it hard to mask his diplomatic smile, and the numerous Negro spectators in the audience howled. The Permanent Delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics looked painfully surprised. It just goes to show you . . . .

No Corn Like Old Corn

How about some 7,000-year-old corn-on-the-cob for dinner? It's much finer than the current variety, according to the recent findings of a Parisian archeologist. Seems as though a goodly quantity of corn was discovered in a vase belonging to one of the Pharaohs of Egypt. Planted more or less with tongue in cheek, the corn surprised everyone and grew, and grew and grew. Experts found it to be of superior quality, and great interest was aroused in France where a study of the possibilities of large-scale cultivation of the Pharonic corn in now under way.

'Ten-Shun!

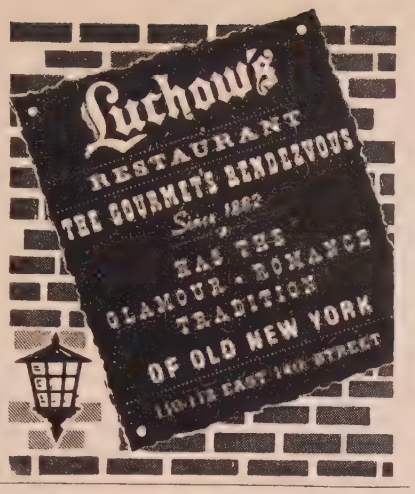
Twelve ticals (96¢ at the official rate) is the fine you'd have to pay in Thailand should you fail to stand at attention at 8:00 a.m. and 6:00 p.m. when the national flag is hoisted and lowered. During the war the public had accepted the Government's invitation to pay its respects to the Thai colors, on a purely voluntary basis. Discontinued in the immediate post-war years, the practice is now being revived—but non-observance entails the fine.

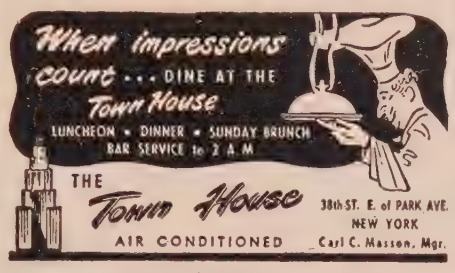
The Biggest Gambling Year

Croupiers of European casinos, who are probably among the best psychological observers, told us that in 1950 there has been more desperate gambling than ever before. Not millionaires only, but little people reached deeper than ever into their pockets at baccarat, chemin de fer, roulette and anything else that was available.

The psychology of the 1950 gambler, according to the croupiers, is that of a desperate person who has nothing to lose. Thousands of times the croupiers have heard rich and poor alike say, with a bitter smile, ***"What does it matter—the atomic bomb will get us anyhow!"***

In past years, the desperate gambler was the exception. He was often a man or woman under great emotional strain, trying to forget at the gambling table. This year the careful gambler is the exception, the desperate one, the rule.





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Is World War III Waiting At the 38th Parallel?

By A. M. ROSENTHAL

N. Y. Times Correspondent at the UN

It always befalls at Lake Success that the men of good will who earn their living with the United Nations must bring themselves up sharp and short in the middle of their fondest plans for future peace and plenty.

That is the occupational disease of the United Nations: the ever-recurring realization that the best plans, the most logical schemes worked out within an international organization, are worth nothing except as they fit in with national policies, fears and ambitions.

And that is how things stand with one of the most important of the United Nations planners' problems today: what to do with Korea once the war there is over. The planners, sometimes officially but mostly informally, have come up with some pretty decent United Nations "war aims" for Korea. But every one of them must be judged for realism against two questions:

1. Will the Soviet Union allow it?

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At the 38th Parallel *continued*

2. Does it jibe with United States military security?

Naturally all talk about what is in store for Korea is based on a United Nations victory. But a complication is that nobody has yet defined just what constitutes a United Nations victory.

There are those who say that the United Nations must not press for complete victory, but must be content to push the Communists back to the 38th parallel and then begin negotiations. They talk hopefully of "United Nations-supervised country-wide elections after a cooling-off period."

But there are more who say that this is sheer Alice-in-Wonderland gibberish, that you can't simply crowd an aggressor back into the position from which he first struck and then turn your back. The United Nations, say these delegates, must defeat the Communists in the North as well as in the South. The 38th parallel, they say, will automatically be crossed by the United Nations, and only when the Communists are eliminated from all Korea can talk of "What now?" begin.

Trygve Lie and many Western delegates are reminding people that the 38th parallel has a political existence merely because after the end of World War II the Soviet Union was made responsible for taking the surrender of Japanese troops north of that line, the United States south of the line. The parallel then had no political meaning and was to have been wiped out in the unification of Korea, a country that had always assumed its indivisibility.

The Secretary General has gone on record as saying that it won't be enough for the North Koreans to withdraw to the 38th parallel. He has said that the United Nations' aim must be a united and independent Korea. President Truman has also spoken of a "united" Korea. But in a speech in Chicago Mr. Lie himself read one hard-headed paragraph that sums up the flaws in this talk of a unified Korea.

"A permanent solution in Korea will require more than the freely given consent of the Korean people. Remember that Korea is a peninsula about the size of Florida extending into the sea from Chinese Manchuria and the Soviet Union. It will be necessary for Korea to have good and peaceful relations with China and the Soviet Union, as well as with Japan and the rest of the powers of the Pacific area."

That is one way of putting it. Another would be to say that neither the West nor the Soviet Union will permit a solution in Korea that will put itself at a disadvantage. And another way would be to say that there will be no solution to Korea in a vacuum; the problem of Korea will be solved only when and if there is a settlement of all Asia's East-West tensions.

There is a good chance that the talk of "What now?" for Korea is even a shade or two more academic than logic alone indicates. It is not hard to find people at the United Nations who are entirely convinced that the Soviet Union will formally move into North

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Korea if North Korean forces retreat beyond the 38th parallel, move in with the Soviet armed forces, or the army of Communist China.

If the Russians do decide to stand guard at the 38th parallel, the future of Korea might be dismally simple. It would then probably turn into two armed bases, one United Nations, governed civilly by the Republic of Korea, and the other Soviet. Or, even more simply, World War III would begin at the 38th Parallel.

It was by no means a snap decision that led the Russians to pick Korea as the best place for embroiling the United States in Asia. Korea presented a great many solid advantages: among others, a well organized Communist army, a Republican government that had considerable weaknesses, and finally, proximity to Japan. That last isn't a paradox. It is obvious that the Russians reasoned that Japanese respect for the United States would slump sharply if we were defeated by a country Japan had conquered and ruled.

For all these reasons, it is perhaps questionable whether the Russians will wash their hands of Korea if the North Koreans are pushed back beyond the line of the parallel. And if they do not, where then is the talk of nice, neat country-wide elections and a "united" Korea?

Then there is the United States side of the picture. This country has lost blood and treasure and some prestige in Korea. The prestige it is winning back, but it can never recover the blood and the treasure. It was Korea that mobilized this country, Korea that meant that inflation is back and rationing and controls around the corner.

Set the background and pose the question. The fighting, say, is over in Korea; United Nations troops are victorious. There is a call for elections, to be followed or even preceded by withdrawal of United Nations forces—meaning mostly United States troops. How far will that proposition get in Congress, how far before the forum of the American people? Will not the cry go up "What? Ask for it again?"

And so, in the understated words of Trygve Lie, "a permanently peaceful solution for Korea is not likely in the present state of critical tension be-

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tween East and West."

It is all quite depressing, but then who is looking for laughs in international affairs?

Actually, there is nothing unique in the situation of Korea. The same thing can be said of almost every country in Asia as of Korea: there will be no piecemeal settlement that will endure. Perform the miracle that will bridge the chasm between Washington and Moscow, and it will be easy to settle the future of Korea, or Indo-China or anyplace else.

The United Nations officially recognizes that fact of international life, despite the fitful talk about war aims, elections and the occasional nervous reference to trusteeship. The United Nations reply, of course, is that East and West buckle down to serious and honest negotiation in the world organization, to chip away little by little at the mountains of differences. Short of that, officials of the United Nations see nothing but the everlasting threat of war.

But it is a pretty tenuous hope, the hope of sudden negotiations that will heal wounds and dissolve suspicions between two countries that seem to be approaching hideous war. It is not wildly probable, to put it mildly, that the Soviet Union will suddenly give ground where she has not budged for years, and at a time when her power and influence are on the upcurve. And neither is it likely that the West would accept compromises that will weaken its stiffening defenses. That goes for Korea or any place else.

All this isn't the entire picture, however. More and more men at the United Nations are coming to think that the answer to the future of Korea, and the future of other bitterly disputed Asian countries, may be found not in Washington, Moscow or Lake Success but in New Delhi, Karachi and Manila.

It is clear to anybody who has heard or read the Security Council debates on Korea that the speeches and the resolutions, the votes and the vetoes, are all directed toward winning over Asian public opinion. That is the stake that both East and West are fighting for.

In speech after speech, Jacob A. Malik has made the Soviet line plain: to convince Asia that the West will

sacrifice the lives, independence and property of Asians for its own "colonial imperialism." And just as determinedly, Warren R. Austin, Sir Gladwyn Jebb and other members of the majority have hammered home their counter-point that Asian independence movements stand a chance only with democracy, and will be crushed under Communism.

That being the case, there is at least the possibility that once the Korean war is over, provided there is no follow-up war, the countries of Asia might use their bargaining power to win a settlement insuring a unified and free Korea. The pivot in this line of reasoning is New Delhi, much-wooed but reluctant. There is no way of knowing, of course, but it is conceivable that Nehru, by insisting on a unified and free Korea once the war is over, might be able to swing it. Openly antagonizing India is the last thing in the world the Russians want to do now.

There is another possible way out for Korea. It is an idea tucked far back in the minds of United Nations people. Every now and then they take it out and look at it hopefully. It is Titoism in China.

If Mao Tse-tung breaks with Moscow as did Tito, then all bets are off as far as Korea is concerned. An unoccupied Korea would not then be as much of a threat to the West. With a Titoist China across the border, it is not likely that Stalinist Koreans would win a general election. Unification of Korea would then be another blow for Soviet hopes in Asia.

Meanwhile, men of good will who earn their livings at Lake Success go on planning, hoping, and stopping themselves short.

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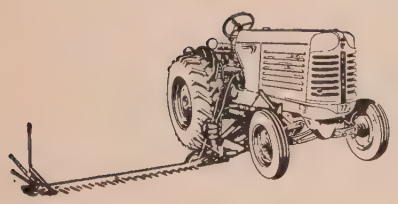

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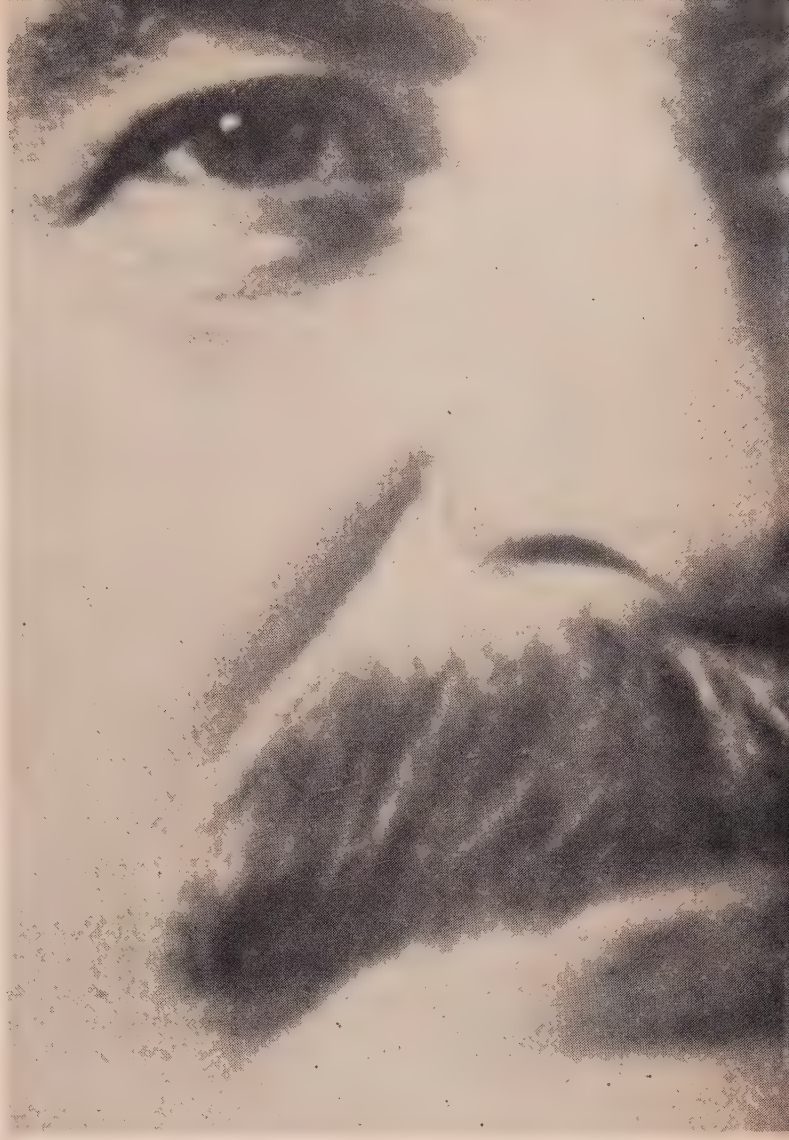


Does Stalin Want Peace?

By ELLSWORTH RAYMOND

One of this country's foremost authorities on Soviet Russia, Ellsworth Raymond was with US Military Intelligence as Chief of its USSR Economic Section from 1944 to 1946 after five years at the American Embassy in Moscow as Research Analyst and Chief Translator. Mr. Raymond now lectures on Soviet Government and Economics at New York University.

Is Josef Stalin on the point of starting World War III? No one can read Stalin's mind, nor forecast with certitude the moves the Politburo of Moscow is planning behind the triple walls of the Kremlin. However, there are certainly available to us well documented clues, a careful analysis of which should yield the current aims of Soviet diplomacy and strategy.

The outstanding fact that first confronts us is that the Soviet stake in Korea is infinitely more important than is generally recognized. In fact, Russia's interest in Korea is on numerous grounds so compulsive that at first glance it might be assumed that Stalin would be obliged to save the North Korean puppet regime even at the supreme risk of World War III.

Russian military thinking is haunted by the lure of Korea's numerous excellent ports, which, in dramatic contrast to all the USSR's own Far Eastern ports, are ice-free the year around.

Defensively, Korea shields most of the eastern border of Manchuria, the main industrial region of Communist China. On offense, the peninsula is a gun pointing at the heart of American-occupied Japan. And most important of all, the North Korean frontier is less than 100 miles from Vladivostok, the eastern terminal of the Trans-Siberian railway and the greatest port in all Siberia. Port Arthur, the huge Soviet naval base in South Manchuria, is within 200 miles of Korea.

With this military prize would also go a region exceptionally rich in gold, silver, graphite and tung-

sten, all of which Russia needs.

No wonder Tsarist Russia tried again and again to establish a protectorate over Korea. Tsardom's economic and political infiltration of the old Korean kingdom was so successful that it frightened Japan into starting the major Russo-Japanese war, which ended so badly for Imperial Russia.

Today's Korean conflict also is the final expression of a long-standing and intense Soviet interest in the unhappy peninsula.

Korea: Dean of Communism

The Korean Communist Party is the oldest Communist Party in Asia. It was first formed by Korean emigrants in the Soviet Far East during 1917—right after the Russian Revolution. In the prewar 1930's, Korean Communist guerrillas constantly harassed the peninsula's Japanese colonial government, while the USSR made many a diplomatic protest against Japan's fortification of the Korean-Siberian frontier.

One year before World War II began, the Japanese Kwangtung army seized Lake Khasan, a small obscure body of water in the hills where Manchurian, Korean and Siberian frontiers triangle together. Russia considered this border lake so vital, that it fought a pitched battle with tanks, cannon and planes to drive the Kwangtung forces out.

Since World War II, Russia has not only defied the UN by setting up a Korean satellite, but also linked itself to North Korea through economic, cultural and trade pacts, and sent both technical advisers and loans to the Koreans.

South Korea thus was a tempting tidbit for Russia to grab. At the same time, the peninsula also represented an ideal spot for Stalin to test new international tactics he adopted late last year.

1949 taught two vital lessons to the Politburo. In Europe, the Allied air lift made mockery of the Berlin blockade, which had to be abandoned. But in the Far East, with little Russian help except diplomatic, Asiatic Communists conquered most of China's 450 teeming millions. Acting on its own, in Germany, Russia had played a dangerous game, and failed because of overwhelming Western air power. Simultaneously the Chinese Communists successfully fought an old-fashioned mass land war, against which Western air power was paralyzed, unable to find good industrial targets and unwilling to bomb Asians fighting Asians.

These contrasting lessons were well learned. On Stalin's birthday late in 1949 and during the Soviet election campaign early this year, long speeches and articles by Russia's Politburo members preached peace—*for the USSR*. Meanwhile at a meeting of Oriental trade union leaders in Peking, Li Shao-Tsi, the Moscow-trained power behind Mao's throne, gave these simple orders to Asian Communists: Form anti-western united fronts under Communist leadership, organize Communist-led people's liberation armies, and *fight wherever possible.*

Stalin's Strategy

The only question was: Where should Russia's Asiatic mercenaries strike first? The answer could be found in Stalin's book, *Foundations of Leninism*—a concise handbook of his strategy studied by all Communist Parties in the world. Stalin writes: Surprise your enemy. Take the offensive. Concentrate on the enemy's most vulnerable spot. Seize the moment when his forces are scattered. Once started along a certain course, stick to it regardless of difficulties. Strive for daily successes. And always retain morale ascendancy.

All this strategy fits Korea like a glove.

Soviet peace talk had fooled Western leaders, and the whole American administration was caught by surprise when the Korean Communists attacked. What could be more vulnerable than an isolated half-peninsula, the sole anti-Soviet toehold on 3000 miles of Communist coast? To make the odds even better, North Korea's army outnumbered its southern opponent two to one. Western armed forces were scattered everywhere but Korea, the British army bogged down fighting Communist guerrillas in Malayan jungles, the French similarly shackled in Indochina, and US troops absorbed in occupation chores. Once the attack started, the North Koreans keep going with dogged persistence. Equally persistent is the Soviet Government's diplomatic defense of Communist Korea, always striving for moral superiority with the shrewd slogan: "Asia for the Asiatics."

So far, so good. But the original strategy misfired. The Kremlin showed no sign that it expected the American Army to intervene. Pravda became completely confused, first said the US police action had no UN authorization, then had to eat its words next day when news of the United Nations authorization arrived. Later new Soviet propaganda was cooked up to handle the changed situation. But the stark fact remained that the sheer weight of the United Nations can eventually crush North Korea.

Today Stalin is faced with one of the toughest decisions of his career: Send Russia into a possibly fatal war to save North Korea, or not fight for Korea, renounce a historic ambition and lose face for Communism all over the world.

Like most diplomatic decisions, it is not a choice between good and bad, but between bad and worse. But whatever the decision, it will be made in conformity with the basic policies of the Kremlin. And a knowledge of these principles, and the apparent contradictions they contain may anticipate some of the answers.

According to a widespread belief, Russia cannot avoid intervening in Korea, because if she fails to help the North Koreans with more than the present propaganda, UN obstructing, and shipments of tanks, planes, guns and shells, the USSR will seem half-hearted in its long-

time policy of helping backward countries against capitalist World Powers.

But the Soviet Union has never said it would go to war to aid a backward nation, *and never has*! Stalin's *Foundations of Leninism* stresses that the USSR will not help every poor country and colony against world capitalism, but only those national movements useful to the Soviets. Democratic Indonesia has received far more diplomatic support from Stalin to date than Communist Viet Minh, which is led by Ho Chi Minh—once a member of the Executive Committee of the old Communist International.

Then too, Stalin's writings constantly stress the importance of strategic retreat, military or political. One of Stalin's favorite sayings is: "Don't pull others' chestnuts out of the fire," or in less colloquial language: Don't hurt yourself helping others. This was the central theme of his 1939 speech at the 18th Party Congress, when Russia was conducting simultaneous alliance negotiations with Axis and Allies. Then, as now, Russia was in a precarious position, and the choice was war or uneasy peace.

Russia clearly kept retreat and chestnut-pulling well in mind when it gave the go-ahead signal to the Communist Koreans. For unlike most satellites, Korea has no military alliance with the USSR. By diplomatic protocol, to which the Soviets pay gigantic lip service, Stalin's hands are completely free. He has military alliances with Communist China, Mongolia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Finland, and even Britain and France, but not with North Korea—his chosen site for trouble to start.

All this adds up to a beautiful show of Soviet caution. But Stalin could still start World War III, if he believed America too weak to win. US and UN military reverses in Korea offer a great temptation: Why shouldn't the USSR strike now, before the non-Communist world remedies its weakness and re-arms?

To answer this puzzler, we must switch from Stalin's political strategy to his equally well-documented war planning.

A clue to Stalin's thought is his last public speech to date, in the 1946 election campaign, when he explained why Russia won the Soviet-German war.

In the eyes of the Georgian dictator, the secret of Soviet strength lies in the USSR regime, racial equality, modern arms, experienced military officers, high army morale, heavy industry and collective farms.

The USSR Trusts Only Russia

During prewar years, Stalin often stressed the importance of such foreign allies as the workers of nearby countries, colonial rebellions, and conflicts among capitalist states. *But after having fought and won a great war, he showed little faith in aid from abroad.* To him, in the final showdown, Russia's *home strength* mattered most, not the Comintern, foreign fellow travelers, or workers of the world. *Above all, he valued Russia's economic power,* and boasted that USSR war potential could be seen in its large-scale production of coal, oil, iron, steel, cotton and wool.

What is the output of these strategic Soviet fuels, metals and farm products today? About *50% higher than the peak output before the war.*

The postwar Five-Year Plan of 1946-1950 has done much more to strengthen USSR war potential. Of the fifteen listed major goals in this Plan, seven can hardly be classified as pure peaceful construction. First, top priority is given to building and rebuilding heavy industry, which produces the steel and chemicals for munitions, and of which war industry itself is a part. Second, high on the list is putting science into industry, i.e. the atom bomb. Third, by plan, war industry did not reconvert till 1946, a year after the Axis surrender, so the USSR could stockpile huge quantities of the latest World War II weapons. Three other major goals of the postwar plan are development of new arms, making each USSR region self-contained, and increasing stockpiles of grain, oil and strategic raw materials.

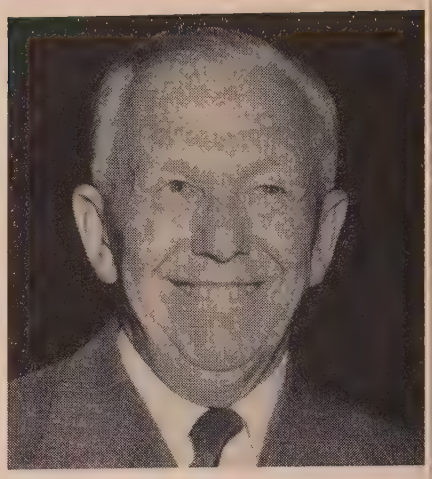
But Stalin in 1946 and his Politburo parrots in 1949-1950, still said *Russian industrial potential must triple over its prewar level,* and only then the USSR "will be guaranteed against all possible accidents." What is the date announced by Stalin and his boon companions when this factory tripling will be completed, and the USSR ready to take on all comers? Not 1950 or the Pentagon guess of 1954, but *ten years from today*—1960!

In short, though Soviet Russia now has the world's biggest air, tank and submarine fleets, *it does not consider itself ready to win the battle of assembly lines.*

USSR military journals show no faith in blitzkrieg, but have said over and over again that modern war is war of attrition. World War II speeches of Stalin constantly repeat that war is won by what he calls "reserves"—manpower, mineral resources, crops, and above all, industrial production.

Today the United States alone produces three times as much steel as the whole Soviet bloc of nations

(*Continued on page 79*)



The resolute stand on Korea, the appointment of General Marshall

Europe does a Double-

To the average European the American is no longer the rich late-comer into battle, but the front line fighter for the UN.

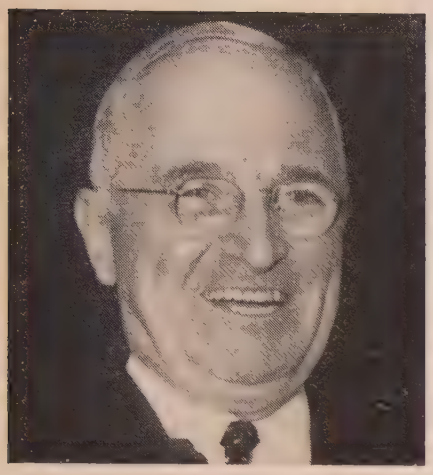
By **LOUIS DOLIVET**
Editor, United Nations World

Paris, September 1950

On Wednesday, September 14, 1950, I saw many happy smiles in the streets of Paris. As gigantic headlines announced the appointment of General George Marshall as Secretary of Defense, Parisians rushed to the newsstands and literally tore the papers out of the hands of the newsvendors. They stared at the banner lines, looked about with what could only be interpreted as a new hope in their eyes, and there was a general feeling of relief in the very air of this beautiful city.

Once more the magic of the name of Franklin D. Roosevelt in Europe became evident when my neighbor on the platform of the bus going from the famous Gare de Lyon to the Gare St. Lazare exclaimed, "*Marshall c'est un brave type, c'est un copain à Roosevelt*" (Marshall is a good guy, he was a buddy of Roosevelt). Later in the day, in a little bistro, a housewife commented, "*Enfin, une bonne nouvelle*" (At last, good news).

The reasons given this writer by the people as to why they were so relieved by the Marshall appointment reveal the shrewd political sense of the average European. Marshall symbolizes not only the economic aid to Europe, but also a tested successful leadership in World War II. Even more important, the name of Marshall guarantees to Europeans the abandonment of the theory of a preventive war, which people here hate and fear more than anything.



and President Truman's faith in peace win the hearts of Europe

Take on the United States

A preventive war, according to most Europeans, would be immoral and would justify the Soviet clamor of imperialist encirclement. Above all, a preventive war would mean communist control of Europe for years to come, and there might be very little left to be liberated afterwards.

The fact that Marshall had suggested some kind of an understanding between Chiang Kai-shek and the Communists—which is a liability with important sectors of American public opinion—is an asset in Europe. Many people here argue that if Marshall's plan for China had been followed, the Communists would not exercise sole control of China today. They point to the fact that in France, Italy and Belgium, Communists were part of the governments up to 1947, but did not succeed in taking over; that on the contrary, they are weaker than they were before that time.

With the exception of the communist press—*L'Humanite* and *Ce Soir*, which described Marshall's appointment as meaning "the acceleration of the re-armament of Western Germany and a step toward war"—the general comment here is that Marshall's appointment will mean greater strength for the West and more hope for peace.

The Korean War and Europe

With the Korean war, the whole relationship between Western Europe and the US has undergone profound changes. Three distinct phases could be observed in the few months following the fateful day of June 27, when the US and the Security Council of the UN decided to act against the North Korean aggression:

1. Surprise and an attitude of we will "wait and see."
2. Initial disillusion at US reverses.
3. Increased respect for American tenacity.

The first period lasted until about the end of July. Most people in Europe felt that since the US was mainly responsible for the Security Council decision to resist the Korean aggression, it was up to American forces to show what they could do in Korea.

Europe was very badly informed about the background of the conflict and the man in the street ignored the fact that a United Nations Commission had established beyond doubt that the North Koreans were the aggressors. Nor did the man in the street realize that the whole prestige of the United Nations was at stake. To him it was merely a conflict between two groups of Koreans, one of

Europe's Double-Take *continued*

which was backed by the Russians, the other by the United States. To a certain extent, Europe was angry at the importance given the conflict. It seemed intolerable that such a war should arise just in time to throw a shadow upon long-awaited vacations.

Talk of Europe's neutrality was widespread. Many stated flatly that they did not give two hoots about Korea, that all they wanted was to be let alone and in peace. It was during this period that the theories about neutrality of the famous French writer Etienne Gilson and others reached their height. A group of pro-communist Catholics, led by Father Boulier, added their voice to the demand for neutrality. (Father Boulier has just been forbidden the exercise of his ministry by Msgr. Feltin, Archbishop of Paris).

All the misunderstandings with and about America, all the envy of the wealth of the US, all the anger at the difficult conditions during the reconstruction period, came to the fore and played against the US.

The second period, which started in August, was dominated by the news of US reverses in Korea. The first indifference toward the faraway battlefields slid into deep despair. The average European began asking himself whether the story of American might was not a mere legend. He began looking seriously for a place in the country where he might hide if war should come to Europe. The Communists benefited by that state of mind, and published triumphant headlines about Communist victories in Korea. Indirectly but clearly, the Communists indicated that a similar situation might very soon prevail in Europe, and that it would be better for everyone concerned to adapt his politics to the event in advance.

Malik's Speeches Backfire in Europe

However, the overconfidence of the local Communists and the reports of Mr. Malik's speeches at the Security Council produced results unexpected by the Soviet supporters.

After a short period of satisfaction that the "Americans too were having reverses such as we had in 1940," public opinion slowly turned against the Soviet stand on Korea. Whatever the effects of Mr. Malik's speeches may have been on Asia, *they backfired in Europe.* There was little sympathy for the legalistic and hairsplitting arguments of Mr. Malik. More and more people said simply that if the Russians really meant peace, they should ask their North Korean friends to "go back where they came from." The very fact that Malik's presidency made it impossible to reach any decision at the Security Council was held against the Soviets.

Those people of Europe who were rather ignorant about the UN caught fire from the drama being played at Lake Success. They began to grasp that this was not a traditional conflict between two big powers, but was really a fight between law and lawlessness.

Truman's Desire for Peace Trusted

The third period began in September. The tenacity with which the bridgehead was held by the Americans, the story of the individual courage of the GIs, and the fear that even a temporary full Communist victory in Korea would encourage further Soviet expansion, brought about the first important changes in the European public's attitude. Support of the action against the aggressor by fifty-three members of the United Nations, and Mr. Lie's energetic appeals for help, were of decisive importance in bringing about the realization by the people that this was a United Nations war.

The most remarkable response to Mr. Truman's optimism and faith in peace can be clearly seen everywhere. The main communist effort to make Truman a warmonger *has failed.* His simple statements that he wanted peace and did not despair of obtaining it, made a profound impression on Europe. In the same way, the violent communist campaign against Dean Acheson remained without effect. People here still believe that there are men in high places in the US who favor a preventive war, but they now know that neither the people nor the President will accept such a policy.

Thus the attitude of Europe toward the US has considerably improved. Even Etienne Gilson is giving up his neutrality theory, and the general feeling is that there is no escape and no neutrality, if World War III should break out.

This is why people accept, with relatively less resistance than was expected, the sacrifices demanded for re-armament. One hears bitter railing against the world and fate itself for not having given a respite to mankind, still licking its old wounds. But by and large, it is felt that perhaps this is the only way out of war.

This conclusion has not been reached with enthusiasm. The foundations upon which it stands are fragile. Europe still hopes that the costly and dangerous armament race can be stopped.

The next General Assembly is anticipated with more hope and anxiety than any previous meeting. This Assembly will have deep repercussions upon the conscience of Europe, and the policy of every country will be watched very closely.

In this great psychological upheaval which is once again shaking Europe, the American is being regarded with more attention and more sympathy than at any time in the last three years. He is at last becoming an equal—for he too can be the *first* to go to war and the *first* to accept sacrifices for the triumph of an ideal. This time the American has come down from the materialistic, super-mechanical pedestal upon which Europe had had to place him, and has become human in his sufferings, and thus equal.

That is what I understood from the maid in this hotel who answered, when I asked her what she thought of the GIs in Korea, "*Oh, ils sont comme nos poilus*" (Oh, they're just like our own soldier boys).

It is in equality in suffering that lasting friendships begin.

The issue of the century is whether China will ultimately join the Soviet bloc or follow India's example in developing into an independent big power.

Asia's Revolution: India Has the Answers

By LAURA VITRAY
United Nations Editor, UN World

THE other day, in a high, quiet penthouse of Gotham, I sat talking to the man who speaks officially in the United Nations for the country whose voice undoubtedly is the most independent in the entire world. He is Sir Benegal Rau, former judge of the High Court of Calcutta, author of India's Constitution—a bachelor, a gray-haired, soft-spoken gentleman whose opinions command attention in the highest political circles. Though they cut across established positions of East or West, they have this tremendous moral force: no one suspects them of being the result of a "deal", or of partisan pressures of any sort.

Far below us a warm mist lay on the sidewalks of New York. Here, the doors of Sir Benegal's spacious living room were flung open on a narrow stone terrace with a wall topped by flower boxes. A breeze was stirring, there was a view of distant grassy meadow and the faerie skyline of Central Park.

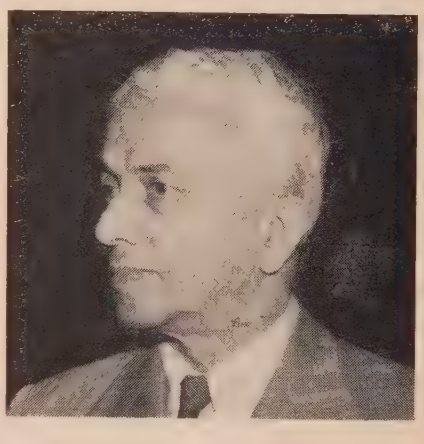
Asia, India, and the UN were the subjects of conversation. Sir Benegal spoke against a backdrop of bloody fighting in Korea, of a rising tide of conflict that threatens a new war. Some of what he said might arouse annoyed rebuttal in the US Congress or in the Kremlin. Here lies its precise value.

First, of course, was Korea. During the frustrating month of August, while the Security Council sweated in enforced paralysis under the filibustering presidency of Jacob Malik, Sir Benegal made the most constructive attempt to end the Korean war by conciliation. On August 15, he broke through the procedural discussions with a proposal for a conciliation committee on Korea, composed of the Council's non-permanent members.

That suggestion was not made as a formal resolution. Sir Benegal explained that his hope was to gain the support, not merely of the seven members needed for its adoption, but also of the the US and the USSR—whose worldwide antagonism he described as one of the basic factors underlying the Korean tragedy. He told me he could have had the majority vote. But despite valiant efforts during private meetings of the Council, it was the big powers he failed to win.

"Conciliation may have to wait," he added, *"until the military situation becomes stabilized."* In plain language, that meant that the UN must establish its authority by fighting.

As for Nehru, Sir Benegal declared



SIR BENEGAL NARSING RAU

it unlikely that he will make another attempt soon at East-West mediation. It is recalled that on July 13, in notes to Stalin and Acheson, India's Prime Minister urged the two big powers to restore peace in Korea. "His recent statements," Sir Benegal said, "indicate his feeling that unless there is a genuine desire on the part of those in conflict to come together, mediation cannot be undertaken."

I asked if he could explain Nehru's insistence that India is an independent, *not* a neutral.

"Yes, there is a vast difference," he said. *"In an issue involving conflict, a neutral refuses to take sides. An independent nation does not commit itself in advance to the support of any power, but waits until the issue arises,*

then takes a firm stand, where the neutral would abstain."

There are very few nations, he added, that follow a truly independent course.

"The Soviet bloc never varies from the Soviet line. Even in the Western bloc, the actual fact is that a certain number of countries always vote together. Of course that vote may reflect their honest opinion. Yet I am convinced that whatever weight India can hope to have must be due to its independence. It gives the rest of the world a sense of restfulness to know that there are countries whose voice may be relied upon to be always independent."

Many Americans are disconcerted by India's strong stand in favor of admitting the Government of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations. *"But the Peiping Government is* not *a true communist government,"* Sir Benegal assured me. *"It is a coalition that represents all sections of the nation, including Kuomintang. All are pledged to a common program of democratic advance."* He added that India's Resolution proposing that the Peiping Government represent China in the General Assembly, was a logical consequence of India's recognition of that government more than a year ago.

NEHRU AND TRUMAN: An independent gets a warm greeting from the West.

Despite rumors of Chinese Communist troop concentrations near the North Korean border, Sir Benegal said reports reaching him indicate that the People's Republic of China will not intervene in Korea "if there is no provocation." Of course there have been the Peiping Government's complaints that American planes bombed and strafed territory on the Chinese side of the border with North Korea, and that the US is guilty of "armed invasion" of Formosa, through the presence of its naval forces in Formosan waters.

Regardless of differences, the US sets high value on India's influence in helping keep China out of the Korean conflict. That was clearly indicated by the American proposal—later vetoed by the USSR—for a UN Commission composed of India and Sweden to investigate the bombing incident, with a promise of reparations to China if it had occurred.

India's View of New China

It is Sir Benegal's view that the new Chinese government is by no means a satellite of the USSR. He makes the point that class warfare after the Marxist pattern is unlikely to arise in China, where the people are divided vertically into clans that include both rich and poor elements, rather than horizontally into unrelated strata of rich and poor.

He sees this vast Asiatic territory today in a state of flux. But the temperament of the Chinese people, the traditional family structure of their society, even the political philosophy of the Communist leader Mao Tse-tung, who rejects the Russian brand of "collectivization", and accords broad scope to private enterprise—all must affect the final outcome.

"Whatever social system emerges in China, it will be very different from that of the Soviet Union," Sir Benegal said. *"Meanwhile, we know these things about the Peiping Government: it has effected land reforms; it has got rid of corruption and is a very honest government; it includes non-Communist government advisers.*

"Certainly its external policy is today influenced by the Government of the Soviet Union. But the Indian view is that opportunity must be given it to learn by contacts with other governments, such as membership in the United Nations can provide. At present it is isolated and ostracized. Its leaders think that the United States and the United Kingdom are hostile to them. If they feel that the United States is hostile, they are apt to be hostile in return."

Formosan Powder-keg

China's complaint of armed invasion of Formosa raises a highly explosive issue. It is one that will undoubtedly be thrown into the present session of the General Assembly for solution.

President Truman's call for the 7th Fleet to prevent any attack on Formosa, and for the Chinese Nationalists on Formosa to cease all operations against the Chinese mainland, was a unilateral decision of the US Government, taken in the hope of preventing the Korean conflict from spreading. It failed to win the support other countries accorded US action through the United Nations in defense of South Korea.

The US effort to "neutralize" Formosa was somewhat modified by Ambassador Warren Austin's letter, delivered the day after the Chinese complaint of invasion, stating that "the United States would welcome United Nations investigation of the case of Formosa." General MacArthur's subsequent message to the Veterans of Foreign Wars, urging US military occupation of Formosa, though promptly suppressed by the President, was a bombshell which was immediately exploited in Soviet propaganda to Asia.

Hands Off Formosa!

Discussing China's complaint about Formosa, Sir Benegal recalled the Declaration of Cairo, of November 1943. It was at Cairo that President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek met in a conference which immediately preceded that of Teheran, to make final plans for the defeat of Japan. The Declaration stated as their purpose "that Japan shall be stripped of all the islands of the Pacific which

she has seized or occupied since the beginning of the first World war in 1914, and that all the territories that Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa and the Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China."

"*It is India's view that the Cairo and Potsdam Declarations should be carried out,*" Sir Benegal said. "*It was the intention of the powers that Formosa should be restored to China —and we believe that those commitments should be honored. Formosa cannot and must not become a US military base.*"

Any attempt to implement General MacArthur's suggestion would be more than a departure from President Truman's foreign policy. It would, in India's view, be a clear violation of the Cairo Declaration.

Independent Stand on Vietnam

With the outbreak of the Korean war, Mr. Truman ordered a stepping-up of American military aid to the forces of France in Indochina that are battling the Communist forces of Ho Chi Minh. That conflict, until now one of French and loyalist troops in Vietnam combatting sporadic forays by red guerrillas, threatens soon to explode into full-scale war. It is thought that Ho Chi Minh has had substantial aid from Peiping in building a modern mechanized army. The American position is that, however unsatisfactory to the people of Vietnam their French-selected ruler Bao Dai may appear, his government is the only one that offers a present hope of checking the onrush of Communism.

The trouble is that the Vietnamese, as well as a growing number in Laos and Cambodia, are less interested in democracy than in nationalism. Ho Chi Minh, with a background of communist training in Paris and in Moscow, is probably more of a Soviet-type Marxist than China's Mao Tse-tung. But he draws his huge popular support from masses who long to be rid of the yoke of colonialism.

With this aspiration India is in deep sympathy, Sir Benegal Rau assured me. He explained that his country, which has come through its own struggle for independence, insists on the right of self-determination for the other peoples of Asia. "*It is Nehru's view,*" he said, "*that it is wrong to assist any colonial power. For that reason India has not recognized Bao Dai. Nor will it recognize Ho Chi Minh without a fuller knowledge of the facts.*"

This does not mean, of course, that India favors, or wishes to aid the spread of communism, with which it deals firmly within its own borders. Rather, it probably indicates a greater Indian understanding of Asians, and faith in their ultimate commonsense. India knows that the Indochinese, like the Chinese, are far removed from Communism in their social pattern. All the same, India's position may prove a cause for concern to the United States and the other Western powers, if the Indochinese conflict becomes a real threat to world peace. Yet it is certain that India's thinking can make a vital contribution to a solution.

The conversation touched on Indonesia, and Sir Benegal remarked that that country, too, is still very young, making its Constitution, able to work out its destiny if left to itself.

"*India wants no Western imperialism in Asia—but on the other hand, it does not seek to guide the destinies of Asia,*" he warned in reply to a question. "*Nehru is against any leadership of Asia being attributed to our country. Decisions we may have to make—but we will make them as issues arise.*

"*Asia,*" he added, "*is in a state of evolution. For ourselves, we are trying to cultivate friendly relations with all nations. We do not even want to belong to an Asian bloc, or to a geographic bloc of any kind. On many problems we may have the same views as Europeans.*"

That sense of belonging to the world community, rather than to any localized portion of it, may explain why the new India is rising like a young giant out of the cataclysmic changes that grip the Asiatic countries. Under the moral and spiritual influence of Jawaharlal Nehru, it is firmly on the side of democracy. But it will not sign a blank check in support of the policies of the West or of the East.

India and the Big Five

In UN circles, the great new stature of India is causing widespread feeling among member states that she should be given a permanent seat in the Security Council. The great powers, including China, France, the USSR, the UK and the US, familiarly known as the "Big Five," would thus become the "Big Six." This could happen if the present General Assembly, by a two-thirds vote—confirmed by a vote of any seven of the Security Council—issued a call for a General Conference to revise the UN Charter. The Soviet Union technically could veto a new permanent membership. But it would

NEHRU AND VYSHINSKI: The USSR has a smile for India's Premier, too.

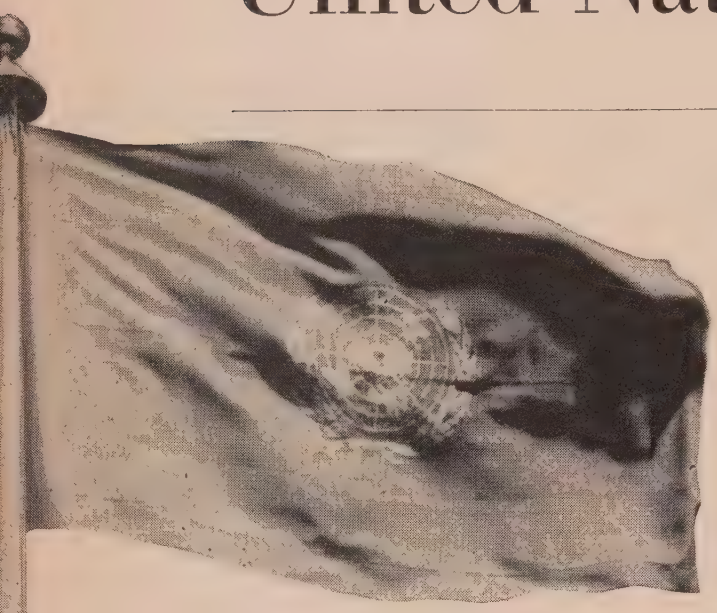
not dare to do so, provided there was no attempt to withdraw China's permanent seat. For Russia, as clearly as the US, sees that India may hold the key to the outcome of the whole ideological struggle in Asia.

When I tried to draw Sir Benegal out on this idea of a permanent Security Council seat for India, he smiled and said, "*India does not seek new responsibilities. She finds her responsibilities heavy enough with a non-permanent seat in the Council.*"

All the same, after our talk the conviction persists that India will not shirk new burdens laid upon her by the world community. And many in high international circles insist that the Security Council would be greatly strengthened and rendered more effective by the addition of a new "great power" which was likewise a great "independent."

A working plan to implement the Acheson Proposal

Blueprint For A United Nations Army



International aggression could be stopped by a nucleus of eleven mixed divisions of great mobility, comprising 151,800 officers and men, equipped with the most advanced arms and stationed in New York, Panama, Strasbourg, Prague, Ceylon, Eritrea and New Guinea.

By COL. CURT KONRAD ARNADE

Distinguished military authority, former military adviser to Gen. Chiang Kai-shek and to the government of Bolivia.

For the United Nations, the conflagration now raging in Korea is by no means a crisis unrelated to other events. Such a possibility was foreshadowed as early as 1947. That year marked the turning point in UN efforts to become a world organization which is able to deal promptly with threats to the peace wherever they might arise, and before they had resulted in overwhelming bloodshed.

The Charter, in Articles 43–48, foresaw the need for International Contingents of armed forces to be provided by all members of the United Nations for the purpose of suppressing acts of aggression. Yet six weeks after the start of the Korean invasion the 52 nations supporting the UN's action, with the exception of the United States, had been able to contribute only battleships and planes, but no ground forces. In spite of the splendid name "United Nations Defenders" the outnumbered troops in South Korea did not have the strength which a "United Nations Police Force" under Article 43 of the Charter automatically would be able to put in the field.

Behind this failure to muster a truly international force lie the crucial struggles and failures of the year 1947 when the emergence of a United Nations police force, even in a blueprint form, was blocked by the dissensions of two rival member groups.

This was the year of the Greek frontier troubles and the beginning of the Palestine disturbances. The Military Staff Committee made serious efforts to organize a UN police force under Articles 46 and 47. These came to naught, while the disputes in Greece and in Palestine went on to shooting wars.

The UN found itself in 1947 exactly where its predecessor, the League of Nations, was in 1931, when faced with the Japanese invasion of North China.

True, the political and moral impact

of the UN was great enough to localize and ultimately to stop the Greek and Palestine conflicts. But still no positive steps had yet been taken to create an international force.

Further action by the Military Staff Committee of the UN was blocked by disagreement on two questions more technical than substantive: 1) the overall strength of the police force; 2) application of the principle of equal contributions by the big member states.

There was also an organizational defect which hampered the work of the Military Staff Committee. It had no permanent, responsible chief, but only a rotating chairmanship. This may do for a parliamentary committee, but not for a military body charged with setting up an international force. For such a task someone must take central responsibility.

The appointment of such a permanent head is a principal condition for the future efficient functioning of the Military Staff Committee. If he cannot be selected from among the Big Five, he could perhaps be chosen from among the small countries—Finland, Sweden, or a Latin American state.

Our present difficulties in banishing war recall the words of the famous war philosopher, Clausewitz, who wrote 135 years ago: "War is the continuation of diplomacy but with other means." Yet throughout history the peoples of the world have constantly attempted to protect themselves against the evil of bloodshed. Their efforts divide into two main categories:

I. *Alliances with the obligation of mutual aid in event of war.*

II. *General pacts aiming at avoiding and outlawing war.*

The Mirage of Alliances

The history of military alliances as a means to prevent wars is not an encouraging one.

A study of them reveals the significant fact that most such alliances, born out of a common objective against a too-powerful enemy, have been characterized by rivalry in the supreme command, by disunity after victory and finally by war between the former allies.

Such was the pattern for instance of the Prussian-Austrian Alliance against Denmark in 1864 and of the Balkan Federation of 1912.

The war against Denmark shows striking similarities to the present Korean situation. The southern part of a long peninsula had a mixed Danish and German population.

Prussia and Austria allied in a war against Denmark to "liberate" Slesvig-Holstein, but after their victory they could agree on no permanent solution for the future of the province. They decided to administer the liberated area in two separate parts, Prussia ruling Slesvig, Austria Holstein. When Prussia attempted to extend her rule to all Slesvig-Holstein the decision of the Diet of the German Federation went against her. Bismarck promptly declared it "illegal." There followed two years of hot war between the former allies.

The two Balkan wars of 1912–1913 present a similar picture. Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro and Greece formed a military Balkan League which defeated the centuries-old Turkish occupation. The armistice reached at a London conference resulted in the unmitigated dissatisfaction of each of the four allies. These clashed in Balkan War II and there followed the rise of a new Turkey, the defeat of Bulgaria and the supremacy of Serbia in the Balkans. Here was planted the seed of World War I, with Austria and Russia seeking the role of Balkan protector against Serbia.

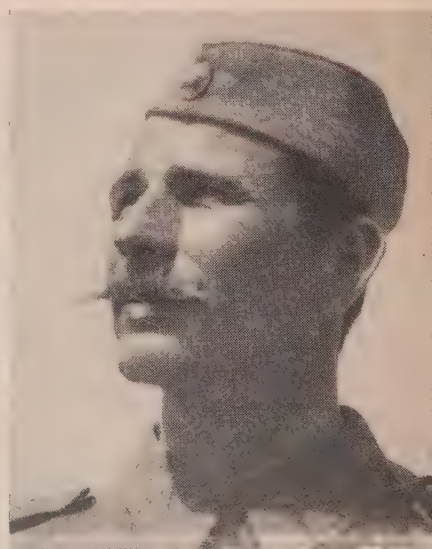
In these patterns of alliances there is usually evident, not only jealousy among allies, but also a tendency of each to cast a glance toward his future relations with today's enemy, who may be tomorrow's friend. Thus, in the great battle of Leipzig, Napoleon was defeated, the iron circle almost closed about him and only in the western sector did there remain an open gap which could readily be filled by an Austrian Army Corps. The arrival of this corps was deliberately delayed to give Napoleon a chance to withdraw from encirclement. The Austrian Emperor had the satisfaction of knowing that Napoleon, his son-in-law, would not be a war prisoner; on the contrary, his influence could be used to check the uncomfortable rising power of Prussia and of Russia.

The idea, though not the practice, of assuring a long-lasting peace through a worldwide alliance with a common military power as its backing came only after World War I. The embryo of the idea, however, can be detected in a few historic precursors.

British Sailor

Sudanese Rifleman

Yugoslav Private



A United Nations Army *continued*

During peace negotiations of 1645–48 which ended the Thirty Year War, France proposed an international army with French, Danish, Swedish and Brandenburg contingents. The project failed.

At the end of the Napoleonic Age the powerful and ambitious Austrian statesman, Prince Metternich, originated the "Holy Alliance." It was the UN of 1815. Metternich hoped for a permanent army of the former allies, which he could use as a bulwark of the Hapsburg Empire and his own reactionary forces against the influence of the French Revolution. However, the Russian Tsar Alexander claimed the right to direct such an international army. His reasons were like those Stalin would offer today: the Russians had suffered most in the bloody struggle of 1812–13. Metternich was unwilling to cede such power to the Russians. England, after the defeat of Napoleon, withdrew to the splendid isolation of her island and to her favorite policy of maintaining a "balance of power."

The truth is that in past days as well as in our own time, all the attempts to secure a lasting peace merely by the weight of moral power and moral condemnation of the peace-breaker and not by military means have ended in failure. This accounts for the breakdown of the Holy Alliance, the Conference at the Hague, the League of Nations and the Briand-Kellogg Pact of 1928.

The League of Nations had the broad possibility of recommending to member governments what sanctions they would support and what armed forces they would contribute for protecting the Covenant of the League. Actually each state was left to decide the question for itself and action depended on voluntary co-operation. We saw the consequences in the unpunished invasion of China's northern territories and in other events culminating in World War II.

When the nations at San Francisco tried to found a better League of Nations, they remembered all these lessons and the juridical truth that *it is never sufficient merely to write a law.* It must also be possible to indict the lawbreaker and to punish violations. Even this is not enough. *The threat of fines is useless if there is no power to execute it.* This is true among the individuals within a country and it is true for the countries within a world community.

Why There Are No UN Forces

Following are the reasons why UN armed forces have not yet been organized:

1) *Political deadlock between the West and the USSR.* If it is true that under the actual rules of the Charter one member state has the legal right to veto such an organization, no military or organizational genius can find a solution. But it is doubtful whether the realization of an organic part of the Charter as outlined in Articles 42–48 can forever be vetoed by a nation which is a signatory of that Charter. This issue should be examined at a high juridical level.

2) *There has been too much discussion concerning the "overall strength" of the United Nations Armed Forces, with the desire to make them strong enough to handle all emergencies.* Existing great armies have been built up gradually. From the Minute Men of Lexington and from two Brandenburg grenadier regiments, two great armies took their origin. The important thing is for the UNAF to exist. Its strength can be left to future requirements.

3) *Russia's demand for numerical equality in the contributions of the Big Five is impossible from the military viewpoint.* It would preclude the use of any modern equipment not possessed by all, and would limit troop contributions to the smallest amount that any power was willing to offer. Thus it would produce equality at the lowest level.

4) *The Military Staff Committee has heard—and it has categorically excluded—proposals that only the Big Five should make contributions of armed forces, and that these should be used only against the smaller member states.* Such proposals were as absurd and insulting as they were unrealistic in a military sense. Every member country should make forces available. Faced with differences of a geographical or climatical sort in different parts of the world, the UN needs the tactical experience of all countries. Canada may excel in winter warfare, France in the use of field artillery, England in naval and anti-U-boat tactics, the US in amphibian warfare, and so down the line.

US Ranger ***Peruvian Guard*** ***French Commando*** ***Soviet Airman***

Table of Organization

For an International Army

1. *The general principles of the organization*

The UN Armed Forces are composed of:

A. *The Regular UN Armed Forces (RUNAF).*

Initial strength:	***7 mixed active divisions***
To be added within 3½ years:	***2 mixed reserve divisions***
To be added within 6½ years:	***2 mixed reserve divisions***
Total strength after 6½ years:	***11 mixed divisions***

B. *Contingents made available in case of emergency by all Member states* (CAMS). Each state to provide not less than 5% nor more than 10% of its peace time armed forces.

The RUNAF is the permanent cadre of the United Nations forces. With careful planning it can be kept relatively small but prepared to expand quickly in an emergency through the addition of its own reserves and the CAMS.

The CAMS form a world-wide strategic reserve. To be effective, problems of composition, preparedness, supply, transport and rights of passage must be worked out in peace time.

2. *Recruiting*

Officers and soldiers of the RUNAF are volunteers, recruited from all parts of the world, who take a loyalty oath to the UN.

Officers will sign a 25-year contract. One-half of the enlisted men will sign a 12½-year contract. One-half of the enlisted men will sign a contract for 3½ years, with the obligation of service in the RUNAF reserve for 9 years following their discharge. During this period they will be subject to call to active duty in case of war or other emergency.

Officers and men who enlist for 12½ years will receive retirement benefits from the United Nations. Soldiers who enlist for 3½ years will receive vocational training during their period of service to prepare them for civilian employment.

It is expected that training of enlistees will require 6 months. Minimum age of enlistment: 19 years.

3. *Location of the RUNAF divisions*

A. Headquarters Division: New York, with special training facilities.
B. Pan-American Division: Headquarters in Panama.
C. Western European Division: Headquarters in Strasbourg.
D. Eastern European Division: Headquarters in Prague.
E. Asian Division: Headquarters in Ceylon.
F. African Division: Headquarters in Eritrea.
G. South Pacific Division: Headquarters in New Guinea.

4. Table of organization of a RUNAF division

Four Infantry Battalions (two armored)	4,000 men
Two Tank Battalions	1,500 men
Two Field Artillery Battalions	1,400 men
One Medium Artillery Battalion (armored)	700 men
One Heavy Artillery Battalion (armored)	750 men
One Reconnaissance group; two armored cos.	550 men
One Antitank group; two armored cos.	500 men
One Anti-Aircraft group; two armored cos.	550 men
One Engineer Battalion; four cos., two armored	1,000 men
Division Train:	
One Replacement co.	300 men
One Quartermaster group of two cos.	500 men
One Medical group of two cos.	600 men
One Ordnance group of two cos.	500 men
Division Headquarters:	
One Headquarters co.	250 men
Combat Command	150 men
One Constabulary co.	300 men
TOTAL STRENGTH:	13,800 men

5. *Air and Naval forces*

The principal Air and Naval forces must be made available by the Member states. However, there should be assigned to each RUNAF division Air and Naval support as follows:

One mixed Air group composed of:

Strategic sub-group	One long range heavy bomber squadron One long range medium bomber squadron One very long range photo reconnaissance squadron One light bomber squadron
Tactical sub-group	One all-weather squadron Four fighter squadrons
Transport-sub-group	Two transport squadrons
Airborne unit	Two Airborne companies

Two transport vessels of 10,000 tons each to be made available for each division by Member states for immediate use in accordance with contracts with the UN. (A total of fourteen transports for the seven RUNAF divisions.)

Four Destroyers, to be provided by Member states on a contract basis for the screening of each division. (A total of twenty-eight Destroyers for the seven RUNAF divisions.)

6. *Organization of the Command*

Under the authority of the Military Staff Committee there should be appointed a *Permanent Chief of Staff with a General Staff* for overall strategic planning. Subordinate to the Chief of Staff there should be:

Chief-Inspector for RUNAF units	***Chief Coordinator of the CAMS***
1. Recruiting	1. Composition of the effectives
2. Training	2. Unification of tactical principles
3. Inspection	3. Preparedness and mobilization
4. Personnel	4. Transport
	5. Equipment and armament
	6. Supply

Russia Without Mystery

Some peculiar Moscow behavior patterns that persist through the centuries, whether the autocrat is Romanoff or Bolshevik

By DAVID CORT

ONCE upon a time Russia was a happy land. Its people were free. Its rulers feared no other nation on earth. They did not keep foreigners out of Russia; indeed, they welcomed foreign visitors. They were not afraid to let Russians visit foreign lands. "The right of departure," guaranteeing every citizen's inalienable right to go where he pleased, was the most jealously defended right in Russia. The proudest cities in Russia were republics, where a man was as free as he could be anywhere in the world. A popular saying was: "If the prince is bad, into the mud with him." A Russian respected himself, his neighbor and the stranger at his gate.

This is of course not the Russia of today. Its dates are from the 11th to the 13th Centuries.

It was destroyed by the Mongols in four winter campaigns between 1237 and 1240, the horsemen riding across the swamps when they were frozen solid. The name of Russia vanished from the memories of the West, not to reappear, in anguish and blood, for 250 years.

The Russia that reappeared had a new spirit, very different from that of the Viking princes of Kiev and the city republics of Novgorod and Pskov. These had flourished less well under the Mongol tyranny than the dukes of Moscow, who had the treacherous, lickspittle genius to become the Mongols' tax collectors among the Russians.

The Moscow princes had been trained in the Mongol school of politics. Autocracy and cunning were their inheritance. To this model they added that of Byzantium, which fell to the Turks just as Moscow was liberating itself. The Byzantines had long been the wiliest and toughest diplomats in Europe. Their diplomatic procedure is described by a Soviet historian: "Foreign envoys were met at the border and a guard of honor was provided, which at the same time had the mission of watching every step the envoys took. . . . In Constantinople the envoys were as-

signed a special palace, in which they were virtually imprisoned."

Between these two models Russian policy was born, to remain very much the same to the present day.

As Mr. Robert Payne wrote in this magazine last month concerning Russia, "there are behavior patterns and dreams which perpetuate themselves through the history of each nation."

The effort to understand a stranger is on firmest ground when it begins by trying to define such basic behavior patterns, based on the recurrence of peculiar, unreasonable, "gratuitous" acts such as shock and mystify the disinterested onlooker. If a 15th Century Grand Duke and a 20th Century Stalin both pursue an identical eccentric policy, one is tempted to conclude that both are expressing a compulsion that no Russian autocrat can easily escape.

There are indeed numbers of such coincidences that may be taken as more than coincidences.

The organization of a large secret police force and a systematic Terror was introduced by Ivan the Terrible and his *Oprichniki*.

The enslavement of individuals to specific pieces of land was initiated by the early Tsars to keep Russians from escaping into the frontier lands to the east, as American frontiersmen were constantly "escaping" into similar lands to the west in America. This serfdom was revived and translated, under Communism, into the collective farm system. It clearly violates the earlier Russian concept of "the right of departure."

But the Russian neurosis is even more apparent in what may be called Russia's "social relations," its unreasonable and apparently gratuitous attitude toward the foreign world.

Soviet Russia's horror of letting foreigners travel in Russia, marry Russian women (much less take them home) or criticize Russia in any way seems typically Communist to us.

The Russia of the early Tsars issued no entry permits into Russia until a visitor had reached the Russian border. The provincial governor would then send to Moscow complete data on the visitor, while he held him incommunicado. Unless the visitor was an ambassador or a merchant, the application was always rejected by Moscow, often after a wait of four months. In 1492 one Michael Snaups, who came with credentials from the German Emperor, expressed the wish to learn Russian and take a trip to the Urals. He was expelled from Russia with the oily, Mongoloid explanation, "We showed every consideration to your subject and treated him as a guest of the State. However, we could not let him go to visit the distant parts of our realm as this is a long and dangerous journey, and even our own men suffer hardships when they go there to gather tribute."

Later Moscow hit on the device of confining all foreigners in a special section called the "German suburb."

In the case of distinguished foreigners, the Kremlin early learned to render them innocuous by paralyzing them with liquor. The interminable toasts at Kremlin banquets began at the end of the 15th Century. When Field Marshal Montgomery drank water in the Kremlin, the Soviet chiefs were flabbergasted and enraged. Tudor Englishmen had the same problem.

The eternal Russian Iron Curtain operated more drastically going out.

"They [the Russians] do not send their children to foreign lands to study their ways and customs and their free life because they are afraid of that. Learning these ways, the men are liable to forget their religion and customs and perhaps stay there and never come back. And those that go abroad for trade or for other business have to furnish bonds and give hostages to prove that they will return." This was written in the 17th Century by an escaped Russian diplomat, Kotochikhin.

The Tsar himself intervened when a young Russian sent to England in 1598 to learn the language joined the Church of England and decided to settle in England. Boris Godunoff declared the man had been "seduced, due to the inexperience of youth. . . . A man cannot change his nature." The English refusing to yield up the man, the affair actually dragged on for 18 years.

This principle of "to have and to hold" applied equally to women who married foreigners. The Danish Ambassador in the 16th Century was prevented from taking home his Russian wife. The explanation of the Moscow Foreign Office reads as if it had been written today. It points out that Russia is the world champion of human rights and greatly superior to Denmark in culture. Then it adds, "It is not our habit to give free men into foreign servitude . . . ; and the aforementioned woman is our subject and it would not be in conformity with our traditions to let her go with your Ambassador into foreign servitude."

These calculated insults, it may be added, were addressed to a Denmark which was then Russia's only ally on the Baltic. The Dane, however, got his wife, after several years of diplomatic correspondence.

The fantastically hopeless bluff or Big Lie is by no means a recent invention of Stalin's.

It was whisked out when the Russians were trying to prove that Ivan the Terrible had a right to the title of Tsar or Caesar, borrowed from Byzantium where it was used for emperors and Biblical kings. The Russians produced a genealogy showing that Ivan was descended from the Roman Emperor Augustus, because a brother of Augustus named Prus had founded a kingdom on the Vistula. The supposed 14th descendant of Prus was Rurik, founder of the Russian dynasty, who in fact reached Russia from the opposite direction, i.e., Scandinavia. When this story reached the King of Poland, Stephen Batory, he is said to have laughed until he wept. On another occasion, the Russians confided that the Roman brother emperors, Honorius and Arcadius, had conferred the title of Tsar on the Grand Duke Vladimir Monomach in the 12th Century. When it was pointed out that Honorius and Arcadius had lived 700 years before the Grand Duke was born, the Russians retorted that they meant another pair of emperors of that name.

This Russian bluffing often rose to heights of pure farce. At a peace conference with the Lithuanians in 1550, when Moscow knew the war must end at any price, the Lithuanians in-

sisted they were making peace only with a Grand Duke, not with anything called a Tsar. The Russians declared the conference was ended. The Lithuanians got into their sleighs and drove off. The Russians chased them and brought them back. The Lithuanians still refused to make peace with a Tsar, got into their sleighs again and kept on riding. The Russians shadowed them, waiting for them to turn back. When the Lithuanians kept going, the Russians came out of the woods and admitted that their Tsar was really only a Grand Duke.

But a little later the Russians made their point and then it took seven minutes to read off the titles of the Tsar. This seems to have impressed at least the Tsar for Ivan the Terrible fancied himself such an awesome prince that he wrote Queen Elizabeth of England, "What kind of sovereign are you? You let your merchants rule your kingdom. You are just a common girl."

Stephen Batory, we remember, laughed until he wept. But through the centuries not many have laughed, no matter how rich the Kremlin comedy grew.

The Kings of Poland early tried to prevent English merchants from doing business with Russia, writing Queen Elizabeth, "Through this navigation just recently established, the Muscovite who is not only the present foe of our realm but also the hereditary foe of all free peoples, achieved great progress in education, as well as in the use of arms and ammunition." Later: "Your Majesty cannot be unaware how cruel this enemy is, and how strong and how despotic is his rule over his subjects. . . . When he acquires skill in the use of arms and seamanship, he will attack Christendom and annihilate and enslave everybody."

Queen Elizabeth, who was enjoying a profitable trade, paid no attention. However, the Western powers declined to give Russia the art of printing which it was obliged to discover for itself. Some 1,200 skilled European artisans recruited by Ivan the Terrible were kept from getting to Russia by the Habsburg Emperor Charles V. The Italian architects who built the Kremlin, Ruffo, Novi and Antonio of Milan, Fioraventi of Bologna, and Petroche, had great difficulty reaching Russia. They had to go by way of Turkey and the Crimea, for no Christian sovereign would let them pass.

The West's dislike of Russia, whether expressed in panic fear, plans for conquest or helpless mirth, has been a constant from 1450 to 1950, with few intermissions. The Russian attitude in return has vacillated between idolatrous imitation of the West and suspicious scorn. But in all times it has made the Russians uneasy to be reminded of the existence of the non-Russian world. To a Russian, a foreigner is of a different animal species from a Russian.

During a conference with the Poles around 1610, the Russians tried to explain exactly how and why the outside world's black was really white, and its white black: "You treasure your freedom and we treasure our servitude. What you have is not real freedom. The strong one can rob the weak. . . . In our country, on the contrary, even the greatest noble cannot inflict an offense, even on a plain peasant, and go free; the Tsar will punish him, showing no mercy, if the poor man complains. And if sometimes the Tsar himself deviates from strict justice, that is his right. It is easier to bear an offense from the sovereign than from a commoner. Every ruler makes mistakes sometimes." This sounds like a deeply sincere confession.

For the Russian deeply believes that, though the rest of mankind may conceivably deserve freedom, the Russian needs tyranny.

At heart Russia is genuinely awed by the West. But at such times as its power prospers, it tends to toy with the possibility of treating foreigners as it treats Russians.

It began to try to apply a universal censorship on the world's reporting of Russia as early as the 17th Century. The treaty with Poland in 1650 had a clause requiring the destruction of all books containing unfavorable descriptions of the Moscow State. Since Russia had no newspapers and the Government controlled the printing of books (almost entirely religious), Moscow assumed that any foreign publications were also official government productions. Moscow protested to Sweden against news releases ("avisos") printed in Riga about the Cossack rebellion of Razin. "These sheets, full of lies . . ." read the note. In 1665 Moscow protested against a pamphlet published in Revel (now Tallinn) ridiculing the Tsars, calling Ivan the Terrible a tyrant and Alexis a "modern Herostratus . . . for his wilful and despotic deeds in Livonia." Under Catherine the Great, the Russian ambassadors were busy in every capital of Europe buying up and destroying books unfavorable to herself.

Such coincidences can be multiplied by the hundreds until it seems to us that nothing has changed in the Kremlin in 500 years, that Ivan the Terrible was a party-line Marxist and Stalin is a Romanoff to his toes.

Certainly much has changed. But the parallels suggest forcefully that Communist ideology and techniques did not have to be strained very hard to fit into the atavistic forms created long ago by the Russian autocrat, his court, his secret police and his stupefied people. The discovery is far from a trivial one, for analysts of Soviet Russia have made a practice of limiting their studies to the history since 1917 and the official publications of Soviet theorists. On this restricted data, the West has monotonously misjudged Russia and been staggered by surprises.

The unreasonable sulks, tantrums and invectives of Moscow drove Winston Churchill to describe the USSR as "a riddle wrapped in an enigma." The inscrutable mystery of Soviet Russian policy has indeed become the wonder of the world. But perhaps if statesmen will patiently explore the Russian patterns back beyond 1917, the Russians may suddenly reveal themselves as the most transparent people in the world.

Fifth of a series of special UNW surveys:

BRAZIL

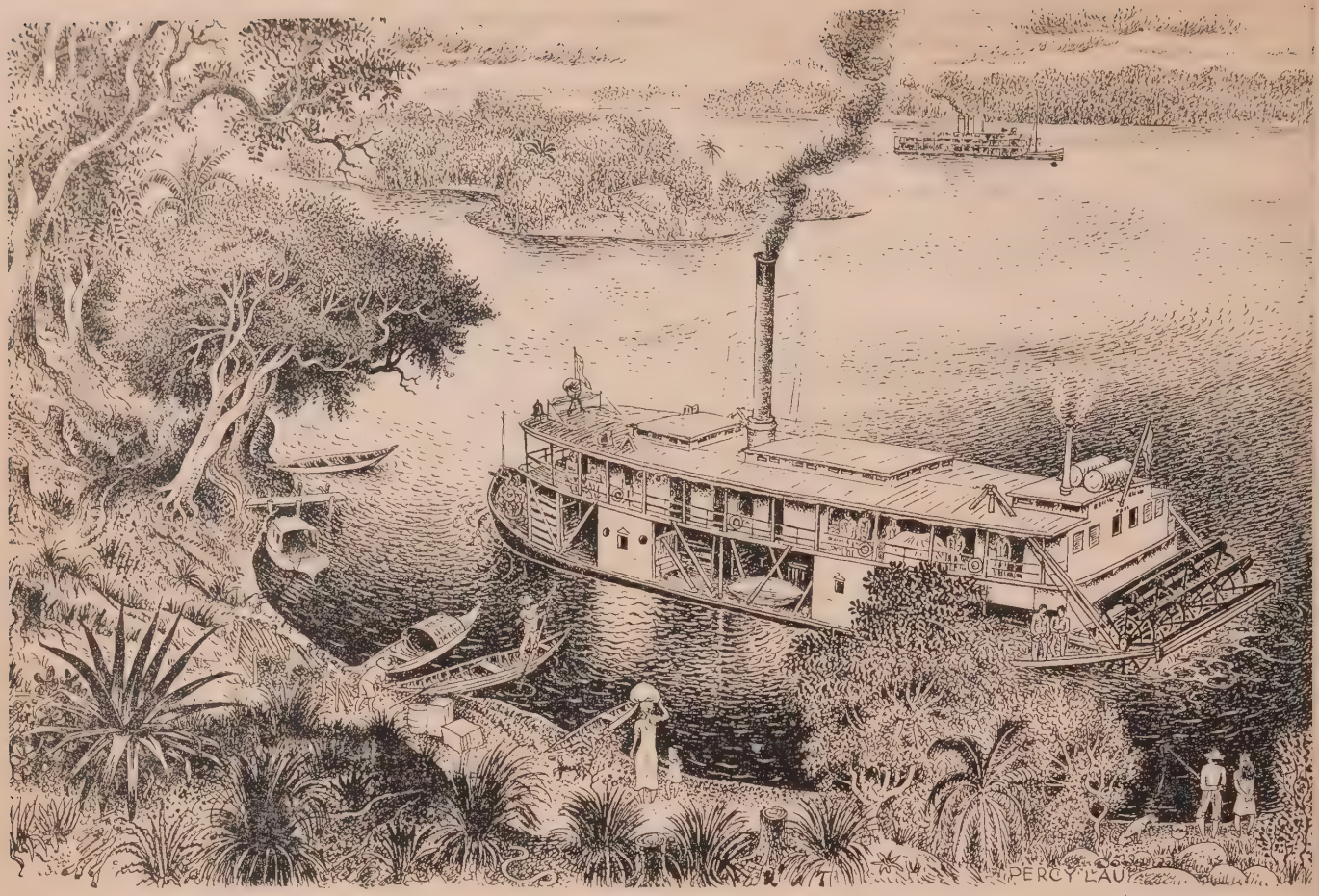
Eurico Dutra

To the magazine "United Nations World" I send my cordial greetings and the assurance of my sincere admiration for its commendable work in fostering closer relations among peoples, understanding among governments, and toward guaranteeing peace through respect for the dignity of man.

Eurico Dutra

President of the Republic of Brazil

RIO de JANEIRO, SEPTEMBER 1950



Success in the Tropics

By THE EDITORS

THE self-sufficient continental powers (the USSR, United States, Canada) will certainly, in the course of time, be increased by one. That one is Brazil, equally rich in resources, in variety of climate and terrain, in sheer size and in a mature and effective culture.

Brazil, the fourth biggest state in the world, represents primarily the one great success that the modern white man has enjoyed in the tropical belt. However, he was only able to accomplish it by interbreeding freely with Indian and Negro strains. The modern Brazilian combines the ebullient aggressiveness of the north with the contemplative poise of the hot countries. He has no sense of racial superiority but at the same time he is intensely proud of being a Brazilian, a composite man.

Its place on the map may have had something to do with Brazil's mixed heritage from Europe, Africa and North America. For the bulge of Brazil is due south of Greenland, and New York City is on the same meridian as Brazil's Far West.

The Brazilian is a man constantly faced with nature at its most awesome. He has the largest river in the world, the largest virgin forest, the most varied flora and fauna, and the most intense heat. The Amazon alone has several thousand species of fish including the dread *piranha,* huge turtles and three dangerous species of alligators. The profusion of insect life has amazed naturalists, including not only butterflies but such sanguinary insects as the mosquito, *pium, maroim, carapana, borochudo, chigoe* and *berne.* The ants destroy farms, the termites wooden buildings, so that Brazil has few wooden houses. A nine-inch spider captures and eats small birds. A single acre of jungle will contain a hundred species of trees, all laced with the twining liana.

Brazil in fact presents challenges to man that make the settlement of the United States look like a picnic. The silent blanket of jungle smothers half

the country. The jungle soil is not, as commonly supposed, of much use, for when the trees are cleared, the soil becomes leached in a few years. The heat exhausts men even as it energizes bugs and bacteria. Yellow fever, malaria and dysentery have been the bane of Brazil, though the first two have been defeated in certain areas. The difficulties of settlement may be indicated by the fact that in building one stretch of five miles of railway at the headwaters of the Amazon, 10,000 workmen died. Finally, industrialization has been slowed by Brazil's lack of coal, so that even locomotives and factories burn wood and charcoal.

Further difficulties are presented by the physical plan of Brazil. The fertile and temperate part has few rivers to open the interior. The best flow into other countries. The coastal ports are shut off from the plateau behind by an escarpment just back of the coast. The plateau in turn has no communication with the vast basin of the Amazon far to the north. The lack of railroads (21,000 miles) and paved highways (about 1,000 miles) is partly explained by the fact that in general they have no place to go. The Amazon, with 15,000 miles of navigable waters, knows where it's going, but it isn't coming from anywhere that matters.

The Brazilians have contended with these difficulties heroically, but the colonization of Brazil cannot conceivably be compared to that of the United States. For a hundred years after its first recorded discovery in 1500 by Cabral for the King of Portugal it remained virtually empty, save of Indians. The Jesuits encouraged miscegenation with the Indians among the few criminals and adventurers sent from Portugal. The half-breeds or *mamelucos,* as wild a breed as ever the American or Australian frontiers saw, proceeded to enslave their Indian kin and chase the Jesuits out of Brazil. These violent, haunted men developed the strange institution of the *bandeira,* an organized band that prowled the wilderness and jungle either to capture slaves or for no reason at all. These bands explored and settled back-country Brazil.

Gold and diamonds were but one of the great booms which together make up Brazil's past economic history. Before the gold rush of 1700 had come times of prosperity based in succession on brazilwood, sugar and based on cotton, rubber, cacao and, tobacco. After gold came four more, today, coffee. Each time Brazil somehow lost its world monopoly and immediately found a new bonanza. Like a man who runs through seven fortunes and finds an eighth on his doorstep, Brazil never despaired when things looked worst. Something did indeed always turn up.

This incredible luck guarded all Brazil's history. Portugal had treated Brazil with scornful greed, forbidding Brazilians to print newspapers or books, plant rice, make liquor or soap or to enter the governor's palace unless wearing a suit made in Portugal. But Brazil became the only colony in history to become the seat of its mother land's government, when the King of Portugal fled from Napoleon to Rio de Janeiro.

In the same period Brazil which had had only 2,000,000 people at the beginning of the 19th Century, began to attract a wave of immigration from Europe, especially from Italy. In 1830 it had 5,000,000 people; in 1872 10,000,000 and by 1900 17,000,000. Its population today is 50,000,000. And it is estimated that it could support between 500,000,000 and 900,000,000. But Brazil, which had long been by far the richest country in Latin America, had begun to lose this position to Argentina. And it had been far outstripped by its longtime friend and chief customer, the United States.

Disquieting as this was, Brazil had actually kept its sights fixed on its real long-term objective: to develop a healthy, self-sufficient economy, based on the consumption of its own people. Apart from its raw material exports, it has developed more consumer industry than any other Latin-American country. And today it is consumer-minded rather than export-minded, unlike most of Latin America.

The problem is as huge as are all Brazilian problems. Three-quarters of the population is still rural, half the people are illiterate, over half are under 20 years old (compared to a third in the United States). The per capita income is between $125 and $165 a year. A 1946 survey of worker family budgets in the Federal District showed that the average wage was $44 a month, other income $14, food costs $30, housing $6 and clothing $6. (Wages were higher in US and Canadian firms in Rio, ranging from a $60 minimum to $175 a month.) But Brazil is constantly raising its internal standard of living and adding to the prosperity of its middle classes.

Brazil is moving to increase its cultivated acreage of 37,000,000 acres, 1.8% of the land area. It must add to its hydroelectric power, now only 1.3% of the power it uses (wood and charcoal supply 84%). It is trying to lower consumer prices, which are unreasonably high, partly because of high bank rates, high profits, poor transportation and outworn machinery.

For in fact the investment opportunities in Brazil are enormous and inviting. Some of the better known Brazilian fortunes have been made by the Guinles (port of Santos), Prados and Penteados (coffee), Matarazzos and Dolabela Portelas (industry) and the Jafets (textiles and steel). The average profit on paid-up capital for some 250 corporations in 1942 was 34%; in 1947 it was 15%; and some firms such as the Matarazzos' made up to 100% profit.

Backing up the development of Brazil as a self-sufficient continental power, there remains Brazil's historic ability to pull a new rabbit out of the magician's hat. The rabbit may be the natural products found to be useful to industrialization: babassu oil, oiticica oil, carnauba wax and high-crystallization quartz. It may be petroleum, now being discovered in increasing quantities. Or it may be high-grade iron and manganese, in both of which Brazil has recently realized that it has what are probably the largest reserves in the world.

There is perhaps no place on the planet where man is going forward with more vigor and hope than in Brazil, working toward a reality more fabulous than any dream. One receives the impression here of a country that is on the doorsill of an immense destiny, like that of no other country, an entirely original revelation of what men can do with the raw materials of Nature and themselves.

By ROY NASH
Former Cultural Attache,
US Embassy, Rio de Janeiro,
author of "The Conquest of Brazil"

STYLIZED wooden figure of Christ, carved by Aley Jadinho, crippled by leprosy, for a church in Campo Minas.

CONVERSATION and coffee flow at this sidewalk cafe in Belem. Only three men are sitting by themselves here.

THIS GAUCHO from Rio Grande do Sul wets down the day's dust with a drink at nightfall, and with a smile.

God, Coffe

THE original Portuguese white man who settled Brazil was a rather small man, light of frame, slender, agile; very dark of hair and eye; with an olive-white skin. In his veins ran the blood of Iberian, Celt, Greek, Phoenician, Roman, Visigoth, Jew, Arab, French, English, Flemish and Spanish.

A sparse Indian population was spread across Brazil when these men arrived in 1500. The early arrivals were largely male adventurers, younger sons of the nobility with their armed retainers, who crossed freely both with Indian women and with the slaves they imported from Africa. From the union of Portuguese men with the fairest maidens

of the agricultural Indians sprang a new race of men possessed of a constitutional and indefatigable energy well adapted to the stubborn environment in which they had to function. When Civil War in the United States announced to the world that the days of slavery as a popular institution were numbered, a European emigration of considerable proportions began moving toward Brazil. Between 1884 and 1939 it numbered four million. Six nationalities account for 89 per cent.

Brazilians today number close to 50,000,000, settled for the most part within three hundred miles of the Atlantic coast. No other great nation, with the exception of Russia, presents such cultural diversity; from Rio de Janeiro, as cosmopolitan a capital as New York or Paris, a few hours flight brings one to naked savages as primitive as any remaining on the globe. Yet some generalizations are valid for Brazilians as a whole.

Except for Indians and a few Germans, Portuguese is the language of the entire country, as Catholicism is the dominant faith. Until recently every educated Brazilian spoke French as his second tongue; within the last twenty years English also has become a second tongue to a growing multitude.

The Portuguese who settled Brazil were the hardiest seafaring people of their day. The Indian contributed his fine courage, strong physique, habituation to pain, and adaptation to the environment. The Negro who arrived in the slave-ships proved his exceptional physical fitness by the fact that he could walk down the gangplank. Descended from such vigorous stocks, Brazilians are, as one would expect, a rugged people, physically. The men who today fell the timber, load the ships, draw the nets, and herd the cattle of Brazil are men of tremendous physical stamina. I stress the point because the fact is often obscured by an obvious listlessness. This is due usually either to hookworm or to malaria, diseases which science now easily controls and which soon should follow yellow fever into oblivion.

Brazilians are a hospitable folk. The traveler in the interior stops at the house where night happens to overtake him, sure of a welcome. Many a time my barefooted host at some lonely mud hut in the hinterland has insisted on moving himself and family into the open for the night so that I, a stranger and a foreigner, might sleep under his roof. And hospitality is as characteristic of the *gran fino* in his mansion as of the *caboclo* in the wilderness.

Lin Yutang said recently that the most studiously avoided subject in Western philosophy is that of happiness, and implied that North Americans are a bit afraid of it. He wouldn't so accuse Brazilians. They know how to be merry; how to extract the full flavor from the moon, a guitar, and a girl; they enjoy liquor and good food, gambling and dancing without apologizing either to God or conscience.

There is another respect in which these South Americans differ from Americans of the North. Brazilians are much more articulate; they are great conversationalists. The coffee shop is the meeting place for all elements from politician to pauper; there for the equivalent of three cents can be had coffee of finest flavor with unlimited sugar. And there two or three workmen will sit down in mid-morning or late afternoon and discuss politics or the price of manioc meal as earnestly and generally quite as intelligently as the university men at the next table. Where illiteracy is high and information passes by word of mouth rather than by the printed page, speech becomes of vast importance and conversation an animated art which often requires the use of both hands.

Even the humblest Brazilians are aristocrats of the heart. A few weeks ago a great Brazilian senator was killed in an airplane crash. When his body arrived in Rio de Janeiro and the coffin was about to be transferred from the plane to a hearse, men of the crowd crashed the police lines, hoisted the casket to their shoulders, and in relays carried it the length of downtown Rio de Janeiro.

A trait of culture which marks Brazilians as among the most civilized in the world is their position on questions of race. Not only has the white man in Brazil crossed more freely with the brown and the black, and for a longer time, than elsewhere in the world; but a cult of racial equality is as characteristic of Brazil as the cult of racial inferiority is characteristic of Georgia. Association football is the great game throughout Brazil; I doubt if there is a team from Belem to Uruguayana which does not include Negro players.

It would be untrue to say that no racial discrimination exists (not many black men frequent the Jockey Club); but it is equally true that nowhere else in the world does the colored man or woman get so good a break.

How do these fifty million Brazilians of 1950 live? Here we can no longer speak of Brazil as a unit, for the life of the masses at the bottom

and Conversation

Brazil

The United States of Brazil is the largest, most industrialized Latin American Republic. Discovered in 1500 by the Portuguese, who implanted their language, Brazil's culture was enriched by many races. It became independent in 1822. In volume of trade with the United States, Brazil is ahead of Britain, second only to Canada. Occupying 3,288,000 square miles, Brazil has 20 states, one federal district and five territories, with a population of 50,000,000. Capital is Rio de Janeiro; second largest city is Sao Paulo.

The economy of Brazil is closely complementary to that of the United States—a main reason for the steady increase in trade relations between the two countries. Brazil exports a great variety of raw materials and foodstuffs, and in return is an excellent market for machinery, fuels, tools and other articles which help it achieve its main goal of industrialization. Because of its size, great resources and growing population, Brazil is becoming one of the world's largest producing centers and markets. But it still contains vast underdeveloped areas, whose great potential wealth remains to be tapped and transformed into usable forms for the benefit of its people and the world economy. Networks of railroads and highways, much greater than existing ones, are needed. Power potentials must be developed. Basic industry, quadrupled since 1940 by Brazil, must be further expanded. International cooperation, through technology and investments for mutual benefit, can speed Brazil's progress in its great program of national upbuilding. (Large map on facing page shows Brazil's production in terms of its 5 natural regions.)

POPULATION

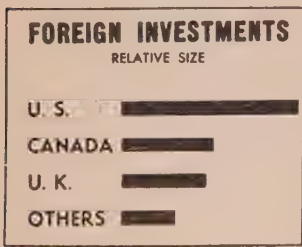
MAIN EXPORTS—1949

METRIC TONS

COFFEE	1,162,108
COTTON	139,760
COCOA	132,244
TEXTILES	4,011

FOREIGN INVESTMENTS

RELATIVE SIZE



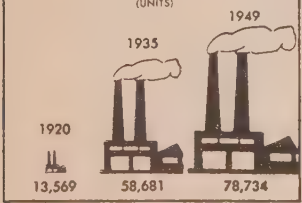
PRODUCTION*

MANUFACTURING	62%
AGRICULTURAL	35%
MINERAL	3%

* APPROXIMATE PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL VALUE

INDUSTRY

(UNITS)



EDUCATION

HYDRO-ELECTRIC POWER

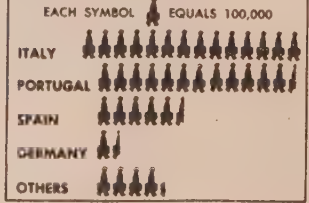
PRESENT
1,425,400 K.W.

PLANNED
1,327,000 K.W.

POTENTIAL
45,000,000 K.W.

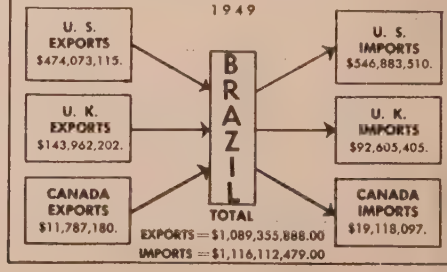
IMMIGRATION 1884 - 1950

EACH SYMBOL EQUALS 100,000



FOREIGN TRADE

1949



Charts prepared by

Brazilian Government Trade Bureau, *551 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.*

of the social pyramid is very different from that of the privileged élite at the top. There is no common denominator for the rancher who measures his land by the 10,000-acre unit known as the square league and the landless agricultural laborer who owns only the clothes on his back.

At the time of the discovery of Brazil the prevailing type of agriculture south of the Tagus and in the Islands was great estates worked by slave labor. This feudal system was transplanted bodily to Brazil where land was such a drug on the market that most of the country was parceled out in grants of unprecedented generosity. As a result, throughout Brazilian history there has been a wealthy aristocracy based on land ownership which has determined social patterns and exercised political power out of all proportion to is numbers.

Your cultured Brazilian gentleman of the twentieth century will begin his education in the University of São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, or Porto Alegre; but is likely to finish it in Paris, Oxford, Harvard, or Yale. If he has inherited wealth, he is likely to enter government service, and before he is forty will be well up in the ministry of his choice. He will have a gorgeous home in Rio de Janiero, a refuge for the hot weather in the mountains of Petropolis, as well as the great ranch-house back in the interior which spells ancestral wealth. Before he is out of bed in the morning the kindest of servants will appear with a tray of coffee and hot milk, a roll, and two or three of the world's finest oranges. Toward eleven he breakfasts in most substantial style, and then downtown to work, which may last until well after six in the evening. A few cocktails at his club; dinner with a usually large and always lovely family sometime between eight and nine; then a concert or the opera, or perhaps a few hours at the casino if gambling be in vogue, completes the day.

Culture, charm, grace of living, close family relationship which frequently includes three generations and distant cousins, are characteristic not only of the Brazilian élite, but also of the large number of urban dwellers who take their pattern of life from them.

Brazilians of the Masses

Although there is a rapidly growing urban proletariat, the vast majority of Brazilians are still agricultural laborers. The man next the soil lives in a house of wattle and clay, a type of dwelling that has always been common on the Iberian Peninsula. It does not generally boast a floor; and for furniture merely a bed, table, and a couple of chairs. Throughout northeastern Brazil and the Amazon, the bed will be the most beautiful of hand-woven hammocks, under a cleverly suspended mosquito net. Everywhere there will be a crucifix on the wall and probably a candle burning beneath it. For the Brazilian of the masses is a devout Catholic, and the Church participates in all the great moments of his life —birth, baptism, marriage, festivals, and death.

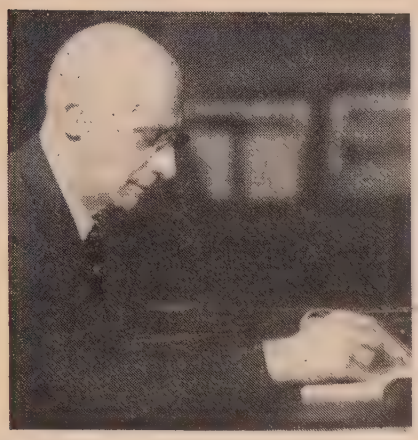
The owner of the mud house dresses in cotton trousers and shirt. He has a covering for his head but not usually for his feet. Both occupation and geography play variations upon this simple theme: the gaucho of Rio Grande do Sul wears great baggy trousers tucked into leather boots, with a leather apron to keep the lariat from cutting his leg, and a poncho for a great-coat; the vaqueiro of the dry northeast rides into the thorny scrub clad in leather from head to foot. The food staples of the agricultural laborer are manioc meal, black beans, sun-dried beef, coffee, and sugar. His alcoholic stimulant is a villainous but authoritative rum called *cachaca*. He is not a milk drinker, and neither vegetables nor fruit are common articles of diet.

The loyalties of this barefooted agricultural laborer are four: to his horse if he owns one; to the Church which baptized and which will bury him; to his *patrão*, his protector, the powerful man who owns the land on which he lives and who represents whatever social security there is in his life; lastly but by no means least to his children and to the wife whom (in parts of Brazil) he calls *minha obrigacão*, "my obligation."

Six days of the week, if there be no holidays, he works from dawn to dusk, but not too hard. On Sundays and holidays he saddles his mount and rides in to whatever village may be his Mecca. Built about the great central square, it is sure to be dominated by a beautiful church. He stands at the door, hat in hand, or sits his horse while mass is being said. Then he eats a little, drinks a glass or two of cachaça, watches a football game or gambles until the whole village turns out in late afternoon or early evening for the "footing" in which persons of both sexes and all ages participate, males revolving in one direction, females in the other, so that all have a chance to see and chat with one another. It is a marvelous institution.

Were there space to describe the bold fisher folk who put to sea on their balsa rafts in northeastern Brazil, the men who gather rubber in the Amazon jungle, the miners who still wash gold and diamonds from the gravels of Minas Geraes and Goyaz, details would differ somewhat but in essentials the lives of all these men close to the soil are bounded by some such simple lines as we have drawn. Throughout Brazil we should find these homes of the lowly pervaded by the same deeply religious spirit which illumines the letter written in August of 1554 by the great Jesuit, Anchieta, to Loyola:

"Here we are, sometimes more than twenty of us in a little hut of wickerwork and mud, roofed with straw, fourteen paces long and ten wide. . . . Yet we covet not the more spacious dwellings which our brethren inhabit in other parts, for our Lord Jesus Christ was in a straiter place when it was his pleasure to be born among beasts in a manger; and in a far straiter when he deigned to die for us upon the Cross."



By RAUL FERNANDES
Minister of External Relations of Brazil

Brazil And the Grand Alliance

TECHNOLOGICAL progress with all the consequences thereof may have been the foremost factor in physically bringing the nations together. But the generating power of the modern concept of international cooperation resulted from an ideological current which although lacking in systematization, undisciplined and, as it were, spontaneous, presents nevertheless the strength and dynamism of an organized movement.

Today, relations between countries are presided over by the fundamental idea that, within the limitations imposed by each State's own interests, the world is a whole, made up of so closely intertwined needs and interests that a point of friction anywhere may constitute a threat to international peace.

It was through full awareness of this inescapable reality that the several States, joined in the most powerful alliance ever recorded in history, and already at the threshold of victory over the common enemy, gathered in San Francisco to seek, with the help of the experience acquired with the failure of the first society of nations, the establishment of sounder foundations for an organization that might guarantee the peace required for the reconstruction of a world violently shaken by an unparalleled conflagration.

Brazil, which had actually participated, with all the means at her disposal, in this "Grand Alliance"—a political, military and economic alliance—lent the Conference from which the United Nations arose a support compatible with her high traditions in the field of international cooperation.

A country of vast natural resources, though only partially exploited, holding an exceptionally large area and an outstanding geographical position in the American continent, Brazil guided its international course of action by the deep-seated conviction that permanent understanding among nations must rest upon the following basic principles: peaceful solution of all controversies, respect for international order and recognition of juridical equality of States. A cursory survey of our diplomatic history would suffice to demonstrate that our foreign policy did always abide by those principles, now, more than ever, indispensable for the maintenance of international peace and security.

The earnest and sincere adoption of such principles *implies of necessity the relinquishment, by each and every State, of a part of its national sovereignty to the benefit of all*—for only upon the security of the whole, upon the "one world" foreseen by Wendell Willkie, can the security of each part repose.

In other words, however paradoxical it may appear, the truth is that in this our present world, so closely bound by an integrated set of interests, the sovereignty of each State can only be assured by yielding a part of this same sovereignty on behalf of an association capable of providing, on a world-wide basis, the same juridical order under which internal law protects the citizens of each State.

It should however be granted that we have not as yet achieved such an international juridical order in which the States may act with the same security conferred upon the private activities of individuals in democratically constituted countries. We should even add that the termination of the last world war did not bring peace but only the end of hostilities.

International juridical order cannot be but a projection of the internal order of each State. It follows therefrom that the coincidental interpretation of certain fundamental concepts such as *freedom, independence, democracy,* is indispensable in an association of countries. When this does not occur, the fatal result is the upsurge of a situation more dramatic than the biblical episode of the Tower of Babel—since different languages are not spoken but to the same words are given divergent if not opposite meanings.

In such a plight, the road to preservation lies in the ever closer union of those who are capable of acknowledging that world peace can only rest upon true and honest international cooperation. And that is precisely what occurs in the present crisis, in which the free nations are giving evidence that their aspirations for peace are not only theoretical and static but practical and dynamic and that they know how to rally forces for the collective upholding of their liberty and independence.

How to Discover Brazil

By HERNANE TAVARES DE SA
Author of "The People of Brazil."

SWIFT sea-going lancha carries cacao beans down coast for packing at Bahia

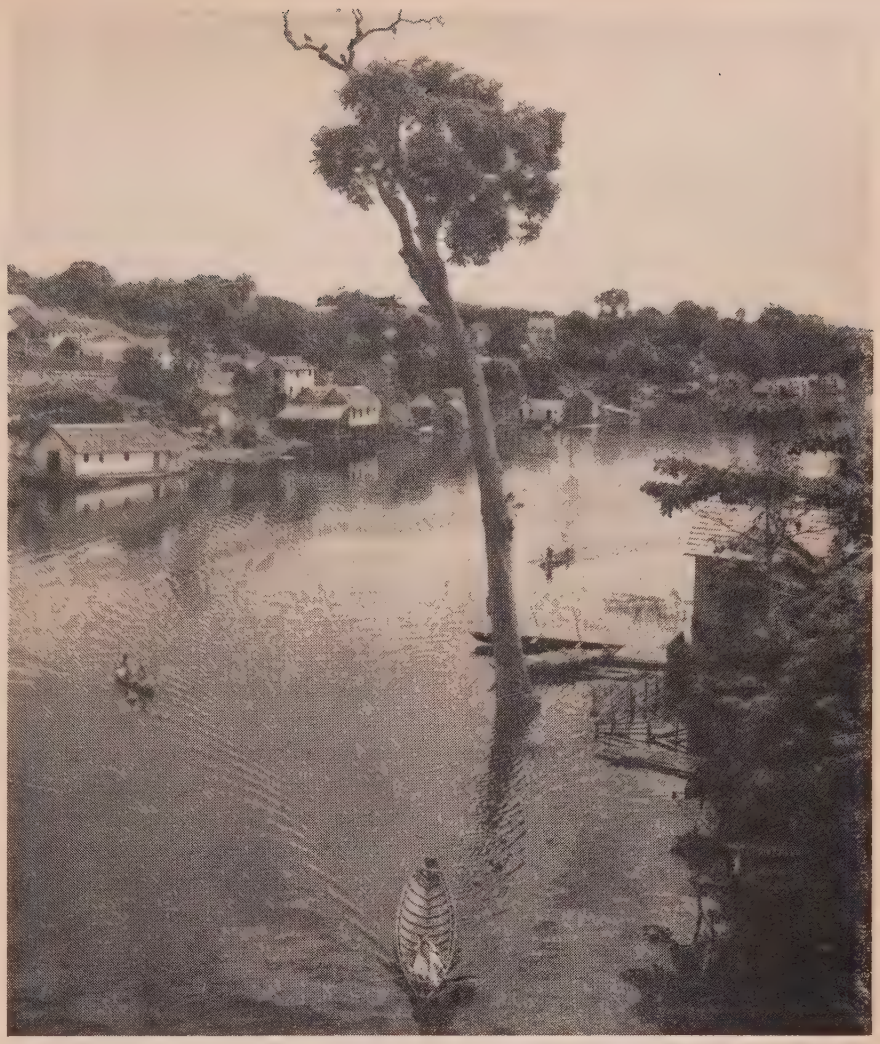
THE CHRIST of Corcovado towers 2300 feet over Rio in a setting of grandeur

BRAZIL is a wonderful place to travel to. And it's an even better place to travel in. At present the country fulfills that golden aspiration of the perceptive but comfort-addicted traveler, who wants to feel that he is discovering challenging new places and people who are intriguing and different, without however having to pay too high a price in terms of challenging new bugs and primitive or non-existent plumbing.

It was not like this until recently, and presumably the country won't remain more than a few years in this inviting but transitional stage of novelty coupled with a reasonable amount of coddling for the average tourist. Not without reason, Brazilians, who were always impatient to know Europe or the United States, refused to travel in their own country. "You can't get there in the first place."

The airplane has changed all this. This huge country—larger than the United States by another Texas—of rugged topography, inferior railroads and insufficient highways, enjoys however excellent flying weather over most of its territory. Air-mindedness became first a fetish, then was taken for granted. There are more daily scheduled flights between Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo than between any other two cities in the world, with the exception of New York and Washington. And as one went west, airports began vaguely to resemble bus stations. Women did

ON THE Passeio at the Copacabana, curves add beauty to mosaic sidewalks.



A TREE grows in the river near modern city of Manaos, a thousand miles up the Amazon, where the first rubber barons frolicked with Paris demimondaines in the 19th Century.

not wear hats to take a plane, and many carried shopping bags—for only in the next town could you buy at reasonable prices, they maintained.

And always at the corner of the field there were a few small planes parked, the "air taxis," ready to drop the commuter, for a modest fee, at the neighboring plantation or settlement. The small plane became such a part and parcel of everyday life that a slang word was coined for it, *teco-teco,* which is supposed to convey the unconvincing beat of its engine of scanty horsepower. When I was in the remote state of Goias, which has brand-new planned cities, a plentiful supply of jaguars and a few scattered wild Indians, a wealthy farmer was flying his *teco-teco* monotonously back and forth over a patch of thick forest, almost jungle. When he landed he told me that he was surveying a road that had to be built through there so that he could bring out his coffee crop. "The surveying job is all done, but it will take some time for my road to reach the highway. We will have to hack our way through. No machinery available."

Slow, persistent machines

There was some road-building machinery in the area, but it was being carefully husbanded for the construction of the trunk highway, which was slowly inching forward toward the Amazon River—one thousand miles north. Machinery and the wilderness; still too little of one, too much of the other.

Incidentally, one of the airlines flying between the United States and Brazil stops in Goias on its way to Rio de Janeiro. An American traveler could do worse than take one of their planes on his visit to Brazil. Goias and then Rio—it would give him quite a good perspective on what Brazilians are striving for, and what sort of people they are—a strange mixture of sybarites and pioneers.

In Goias, the town where the plane makes its scheduled stop is named Anapolis. One is tempted to call Anapolis the last outpost of civilization; it is dusty, bustling and unpaved, as an outpost should be; westward from here there are some two thousand miles of empty Brazilian hinterland up to the borders of Bolivia and Peru, much of it still uncharted. Also, most people carry guns and ask you matter-of-factly if you saw any jaguars as you drove in. The town has only eighteen thousand inhabitants, but during the last two years fifty thousand settlers have poured through it to stake out farms or receive lots from a neighboring government homestead project.

On the other hand, many of the houses have an unexciting, middle-

class air about them, with overstuffed furniture and starched tablecloths. We pass a tiny triangular plot in the center of town and I am proudly told that it has just been sold, for the sum of $12,500 dollars, for a future filling-station. Here Model-A 1929 Fords are at a premium, selling for over two thousand dollars; they alone can negotiate some of the trails.

The Geometric City

The state capital, Goiania, is only 13 minutes to the southeast by plane. I'm always given the flying time, never the land distance; but there is good logic to this, since distances on the ground depend so much on the season. Goiania is one of Brazil's many planned cities; it was started in 1942, and now has already thirty thousand people. The whole town follows a common architectonic pattern, private and government buildings alike. It's handsome and gleaming new, in a commonsensical sort of way; parks and avenues are made ready, and the school building erected, before each new residential district is laid out.

And now on to Rio de Janeiro. Brazil's capital, with more than two million inhabitants, is the only large city in the world which behaves unabashedly as a resort and playground town. In fact, there are many who darkly predict that in a few more years all the attractions that Rio obviously has to offer to the traveler will have been frozen into the dreary pattern of the commercialized travel resort. Guided tours, with bored guides reciting worn-out cliches. Waiters affecting the half-condescending, half-rude attitude which paradoxically bludgeons the cowed tourist into overtipping. This will conceivably happen as soon as the "industria do turismo," which freely translated means making tourists behave like tourists, will have taken a firm grip on Rio. But at present the "industry" is still in its swaddling clothes, and the tourist can be a free and inquisitive agent, if he so chooses.

Guides are few and far between. As to waiters, most of them are still of the breed of those at the Pinheiros Boarding House, in Terezopolis. Perched high in the mountains behind the city, Terezopolis and its twin Petropolis are known as the imperial towns. During the hot months, November through March, these two towns are paradise.

When Brazil was a monarchy during the last century, Emperor Dom Pedro II fell in love with the cool, fragrant beauty of Petropolis, brought in German immigrants, had his homely, graceful summer palace built there. The mountain streams that meandered through town were made to run in canals with slanting, cobblestone-lined banks, and rows of hydrangeas on top. More hydrangeas line the quiet avenues, surround the rink where the younger generation clatters along on roller skates. The "City of Hydrangeas" became pretty, cozy.

However, today Petropolis nas a disquieting hotel which is a kind of Taj Mahal of the "industry." Deceptively named Quitandinha, which means "little greengrocer's," for that was the store that once occupied its site, Quitandinha is immense and versatile. Its halls are lined with marble, and apart from the usual swimming pools, tennis courts and golf course, the hotel has its own newspaper plant, theater and radio station. The dome above the main gambling room is bigger than that of St. Peter's. But gambling was forbidden three years ago and since then Quitandinha has led a harried and precarious existence, relying heavily on international conferences to keep its population up to a minimum.

The Ritz Was Never Like This

It takes a little over an hour to reach Petropolis from Rio along the modern, scenic highway, and about the same time to drive on up to Terezopolis. This town was Empress Tereza's favorite. Nestled in a fertile valley in the higher range, right against a gaunt mountain peak that points skyward like an obelisk and is called "The Finger of God," Terezopolis is beautiful and rugged.

The so-called Pinheiros Boarding House is a modest understatement, for in reality Pinheiros is a charming inn, with little cottages scattered around it, hidden in the forest. Its waiters are men of wisdom and discrimination, who know how to make the traveler welcome. While breakfast can be served in the main dining room, they frown on guests getting up in the morning. And when there is a morning drizzle, one waiter carries the breakfast tray, and another carries an umbrella.

From the placidity of Terezopolis to the feverish rhythm of Sao Paulo is probably the traveler's next move. Practically everybody who goes to Brazil visits Sao Paulo—the reason being that nobody quite dares to ignore the throbbing, impatient town, where a new building is completed every 27 minutes, and seventy thousand people are added every year to a population that is touching two millions. There are two stories the *paulistas* love to tell about themselves; one is about the tall, new office building downtown, which was finished, then immediately torn down before it could be occupied, so that a new avenue could be opened. The other is about one of their youngest industrialists, who made a down payment of one million dollars on a copper rolling mill he wanted to buy in the United States, but got so involved in manufacturing planes, expanding his metallurgical plants, and starting an aluminum industry, that he never got around to following up on the copper mill, and so lost the down payment. Strangely enough, both stories are true.

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These Enduring Ties

By MAURICIO NABUCO
Brazilian Ambassador to the US

THE excellent relations which have always existed between Brazil and the United States are not,—and this is a most important point—the result of accidental circumstances alone. They are too firm and too constant to be simply the fruit of mere chance. One does not need a great knowledge of history to realize that they are rooted in an alliance between the two peoples that pioneered the settlement of our respective territories; an alliance which began in the fourteenth century and which was the basis of the treaty signed at Windsor in 1386, when Richard II reigned in England and Dom Joao, the Master of Aviz, in Portugal.

That ancient treaty has never been abrogated but rather confirmed from time to time despite changes in the dynasties and in the government of those two countries. In the new world, the vast territorial areas settled by those two races, the English to the north and the Portuguese to the south, became the home of what are today the two largest English and Portuguese speaking populations on earth: one hundred and fifty million Americans and fifty million Brazilians.

The traditional and unshaken friendship between Brazil and the United States has been made possible mainly because both nations share a common heritage of Christian principles which presided over the formation of their political institutions,—a heritage of which the basic tenet is respect for the dignity of man. Here we find the ideological reason why Brazil has been and is now at the side of the United States and all the other peace-loving nations in their present fight against the threat of modern totalitarianism.

When the United States entered the first World War, Brazil, true to her policies and to her traditional friendship with the sister nation of the North, severed relations with Germany and shortly afterwards declared war on that country. We contributed to the allied cause by sending a hospital corps and a division of destroyers to the theater of action.

This same attitude of spontaneous cooperation led Brazil, twenty-five years later, to enter the second World War on the side of the United States. Prior to that she had made available to American forces the great air bases in the North of Brazil which made possible the victory of Allied forces in the African campaign. These bases were defended by Brazilian ground and air forces and the Brazilian Navy and Air Force carried out a plan of unceasing vigilance over the South Atlantic in close liaison with American forces.

A Friend In Need

In the beginning of 1944, Brazil sent an expeditionary force that fought in the Italian theater of operations side by side with the American Fifth Army until the end of the war in Europe.

What I wish to point out in recalling here the close collaboration of Brazil with the United States in the last war is the significant fact that the Brazilian people proceeded without any hesitation to join the military effort of the American people.

In so doing Brazil was being true to her own ideals of democratic government and human freedom, recognizing, implicitly, that the United States was then, as it is now, the true interpreter and defender of those same ideals which give meaning to the history of the Brazilian nation.

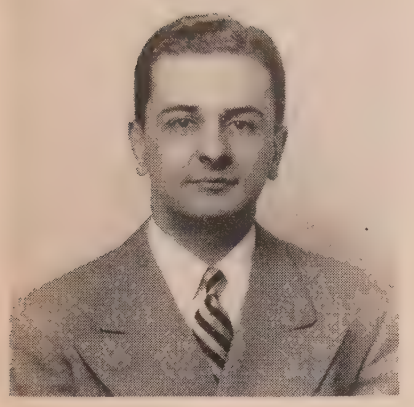
Nevertheless, to be frank as one should always be to a close friend, Brazil and the United States, though political allies for over a century, still do not know each other as they should.

The common history of Brazil and the United States offers many events to demonstrate the common goal in the diplomatic policy of both countries. It will be enough to mention here the unreserved support given by them to the Pan-American movement and the indisputable fact that Brazilians and Americans never had a serious disagreement when international questions of major importance called for their support in foreign policy.

The Conference of Bogota, which created the Organization of the American States, framed the structure within which the Nations of this Hemisphere can achieve their political, economical, cultural and social aspirations. The organization provides the tools of progress for a constant reaffirmation of our ideals of political freedom, of peace and international justice.

It is the clear result of the feeling of our peoples, of our desire to live together in harmony, to better our own conditions without interfering with the lives of our neighbors, of our decision to create an atmosphere of peace and tranquility for our children and our children's children. Brazil is perfectly conscious of the totalitarian danger represented today by international communism which threatens this ideal of peaceful and democratic development.

Accordingly, the Brazilian people are ready to translate once more into effective cooperation with the United States the sentimental, political and economical ties which have, since the dawn of their independent lives, made both nations participate in the same historical destiny.



By JOSE GARRIDO-TORRES
Director,
Brazilian Government Trade Bureau

Proving Ground For Point Four

WHY should the United States offer economic assistance to Brazil or any other Latin American country?

In discussions on application of Point Four to the Americas, certain hard-boiled realists have pointedly asked that question. Why, they say, should they let others have their know-how? Why should they help Brazil, for example, to industrialize? Why should they, of their own volition, help build up possible competitors?

These questions represent a fairly common viewpoint in the United States. They reflect the fear of competition, which lies in the back of the minds of many opponents of Point Four.

Yet an answer which should remove their fear and make them clearly understand why such help is *mutually* beneficial is right before their eyes.

They have only to look at relations between the United States and Canada. Canada industrialized with the aid of US investment, US loans and US know-how. But the result of that assistance has not been a decrease in US markets there—it has been a remarkable increase.

Trade between Canada and the United States is the largest in the world. Yet Canada has only some 13 million people. And its resources are by no means so essentially complementary to the economy of the United States as are those of Brazil, with its 50 million people.

Relations between Canada and the United States show concretely, with the best kind of factual, irrefutable argument, just what cooperation between American countries can do.

Economically speaking, there is no Pan America. There are two Americas. The United States and Canada are one; Brazil and the countries of South and Central America are another. On the bridging of this gap depends the economic and political future of the Pan American ideal.

Solution is imperative not only because of intrinsic needs but because of the characteristics of the world we live in. Formation of regional groupings is a world-wide phenomenon, not, with one exception, as self-contained units but as steps toward global integration.

Western Europe is being unified, linked with the vast continent of Africa, whose production and potentials in so many ways parallel those of the tropical Americas.

The Soviet Union is setting up its own grouping, stretching across the top of the Eurasian Continent and down through China.

The gravitation of these forces affects Southeastern Asia and the Middle East, sensitive to the triple pull of the economies of Europe, the Soviet Union and the United States.

We think nowadays in Spengler's terms, of continents. But will the idea of a united, *Pan* America lag behind in this new world of economic organization, although, historically, it was first and, in a sense, set the pattern?

Will Brazilians, Latin Americans, be left out in this world-wide striving to come of age? Will underdeveloped Latin America be a slowly eddying backwash in this flood of progress? How, under these new circumstances, can the loose, fluctuating economies of Latin America compete?

If Africa, developed by European and US investors and aided by ECA and international loans, were to become a major coffee grower in the next five or ten years, then what would happen to the coffee growing countries of Latin America?

What would happen if raw materials, produced now by Latin America but producible in other underdeveloped areas, were to reach the markets together within a decade or so?

Competition from Africa or elsewhere cannot be fought by "outlawing it" or by dropping Latin American living standards down to a level enabling production costs competitive with Africa's, the lowest in terms of human labor. Then what is the solution?

Clearly, Brazil and Latin America must pass on to a new economic stage, where raw-material competition from the developing colonial areas will not be a threat.

The solution is the development of industrial resources so that both the raw materials and their *finished products* can be produced.

This process will mean acceleration of full industrialization in the Southern Americas—the application of modern technology for farming, mining and manufacturing alike.

Since completion of the industrial and technological revolutions in line with the specific needs and aptitudes

of each underdeveloped American region is necessarily the goal we must reach, then we must plan and act now to bring into being this new economic era.

A key to the whole Point Four project is *capital investment.* Capital is needed to develop raw-material resources, to build roads and railways, to harness water-power, to construct factories, to expand foreign trade, to carry out distribution.

The objective of the Point Four investment program is to encourage *private* capital. Capital must flow to the underdeveloped areas from private sources willing to pioneer in hope of private reward, that is, risk capital willing to undergo the initial risk of investment in a country where completely stable development has not been reached. Obviously, only part of the needed developmental capital can come from intergovernment and international agency loans.

Under the Point Four project it was proposed that something like a guarantee of dollar exchange would be afforded for specified kinds of investment in line with the needs of the recipient countries.

Exchange guarantees established this way, it was hoped, would remove the existing barrier to investment which is most frequently cited: dollar exchange scarcity, because they would eliminate the necessity of "rationing" dollar returns on investments to some degree.

Simultaneously with such guarantees there would necessarily be bilateral treaties on investments in which the rights and duties of investors would be clearly set forth. In the case of Brazil these rights and duties, in general, are already stipulated in the Constitution, which, for example, bans expropriation and discrimination. *Brazil has never expropriated an American firm.*

Within these treaties can also be expected clauses eliminating or reducing double taxation—whose implementation depends essentially on the capital-exporting country.

This phase of Point Four thus boils down to a pump-priming operation. The aim is to put capital in movement. Afterwards, its rights and duties clearly defined, it can take care of itself. Applied in long-term productive investment, it will redound in increasingly larger import savings and foreign exchange earnings through increased output for the home markets and for sale abroad.

If Point Four is to serve the economic and political purposes for which it was originally designed, its application will have to be as bold as its conception.

Instead of spreading Point Four thinly over the vast surface of the earth so that it penetrates deeply in no single area, why not apply it in a series of Concentration Points?

There are certain underdeveloped areas where much of the spade-work has been done, where conditions are known, where technical surveys have already been made.

Why not apply the full weight of the developmental program implied in Point Four to these areas?

The gradualistic, thinly spread plan could continue at the same time as a means of making other areas ready for eventual concentrated application. But where the field is already plowed, why not sow and reap an earlier harvest?

A Bold Plan

What I am suggesting, in effect, is a Proving Ground for Point Four.

And because Brazil has adequate conditions, has been thoroughly surveyed and would quickly give tangible results, I am suggesting that Brazil be that Proving Ground.

I want to make it clear that I am not suggesting that the administrators of Point Four take over and reorganize the economy of Brazil. But I am suggesting that Brazil be a Concentration Point for application of Point Four, and that within the general Concentration Point there be established specific concentration in industry, farming, transportation, power and so on.

Such a program, free of imperialism, and carried out in association with Brazilians, could be the basis for a bold campaign to overthrow the tyranny of alterable circumstance, the tyranny of underdevelopment, poverty, disease and hunger. It could be a symbol for the people of the whole world.

The most thorough of the surveys which have made Brazil a logical choice as a Proving Ground for Point Four was undoubtedly the one carried out early last year by the Joint Brazil-United States Technical Commission.

Commonly known as the "Abbink Report" after John Abbink, chairman of the US team, this survey notes specific Brazilian needs in agriculture and industry. In the field of agriculture, for example, it lists mechanization, soil and water conservation, fertilizers, irrigation, better plant and livestock strains, and insect disease control as urgent requirements.

In industry, the Abbink Report mentions chemicals, some pharmaceuticals, machinery, fertilizer, insecticides, electrical goods, building materials, milk products and others which "must be intensively promoted to assure rapid evolution of Brazil's economy."

It notes also certain areas, such as vegetable oils, some mechanical apparatus, ceramics, textiles, certain pharmaceuticals, wood products and so on, in which Brazil is already meeting domestic needs and in some cases has entered the export field.

Thus, in some areas Brazil *has already passed into the new economic stage* which will enable her to face the raw-material competition which colonial development may bring about.

Brazil is a storehouse of raw materials. Iron, manganese, nickel, bauxite, diamonds, quartz, mica, oilseeds, waxes, fibers, fruit, starches, sugar, cotton, tobacco—these are just a few. Coffee and cocoa, of course, are well-known as Brazilian products. But sometimes it is not realized that Brazil has the largest forest reserves south of Canada, or that in a single territory, Amapa—nearest by sea to the United States—there are raw material and mineral reserves comparable in extent to those of any Western European country.

All of these materials, many still awaiting the magic touch of capital and know-how for full development and entry on to the world market, lie within the borders of a Republic bigger than the United States by another Texas—a nation which has shown its

will to go ahead by such feats as the quadruplication of basic industrial output since 1940.

Assuming that a prospective investor is encouraged through Point Four to start an enterprise in Brazil, what are the opportunities?

1. The processing of castor beans is one. Brazil is the world's leading supplier. The raw material is now mostly shipped 6,000 miles from Santos to New York for processing.

Enterprising investors would help meet the swiftly expanding world demand for castor oil, with its dozens of new uses in the synthetic field, its position as the best lubricant for stratospheric and ultrasonic flight, and the discovery, yearly, of new applications.

2. Cultivation and processing of jute and other fibers grown or growable in Brazil is another opportunity. Within Brazil itself is the vast market for products of this sort which the example of coffee bags, merely one out of many needs, will illustrate.

3. Manioc, growing everywhere in Brazil, is easily transformed into cheap starches, textile bleaches, foods, numerous products that can find a ready market both in Brazil and the United States.

4. Cocoa beans could be much more widely processed within Brazil, not only for cocoa and large-scale chocolate manufacture, but for caffeine and theobromine.

5. Oil seeds and nuts, which Brazil has in almost unlimited quantity, could be made into a long list of foods, synthetics, soaps, even fuels.

6. Forests in Brazil are a great potential source of thousands of processable raw materials. Paper, lumber, luxury woods, cellulose-based plastics, plywoods—are some of the products.

7. There is a great opportunity for investors in vegetable waxes such as Brazil's inimitable carnauba, raw materials that could be adapted for many new industrial uses as well as more extensive use in present adaptations, once investment is enough to rationalize production.

8. From A for aluminum to Z for zirconium, Brazil also has most of the minerals industry needs.

9. Fertilizers, now mostly imported and vital to Brazil as demand for farm produce rises rapidly, can be profitably produced from plentiful reserves of phosphates, to mention one source only.

Yet, these are only a few of the possibilities for investors in Brazil. Where these fields have been entered, profits are already being made.

There is a profit for the investor and for Brazil's economy wherever the domestic raw material is turned into the end product within Brazil's borders; and this is the process which moves Brazil forward from underdeveloped to developed.

There are 50 million people in Brazil. They could use and consume much more than now. *Effective* demand in Brazil has risen to the highest point in history. And not too far from Brazil lie the voracious markets of the United States which even now, with Brazil still underdeveloped, consume yearly more than half a billion dollars worth of Brazilian products.

Public Funds Pave the Way

Point Four can function in Brazil as a catalyst, but is not a cure-all.

There are fields where initial risks are too great or profits too long deferred. Here public funds have to do the initial work so that private capital can take over profitably.

In Brazil, the government has already gone ahead in these special fields. An example is the Sao Francisco Hydroelectric Project, a vast electrification and irrigation plan, not unlike the Missouri Valley power project in the United States.

Another example has been given by Brazil's "SALTE" Plan, a long-range, carefully budgeted project to improve conditions in the key fields of health (Saude), food (Alimentos), transport (Transporte) and power (Energia). More than twenty billion cruzeiros, over a billion dollars, will be funneled into this program by the Brazilian government, which recognizes that improvement in these key fields is essential to a better environment for private investment.

In a symbolic sense, perhaps the best example of these projects which lay the groundwork for the growth of private business is Volta Redonda. This Brazilian steel mill lights the way to national industrialization. It is a purely Brazilian enterprise, yet, significantly, it is a product of inter-American cooperation.

US and Brazilian technicians pooled their know-how to produce Volta Redonda with modern facilities capable of expansion of output in accordance with Brazil's growing needs. US loans combined with Brazilian financing to make it possible.

The result has been the rise of many new industries in Brazil based on the steel of Volta Redonda and its by-products. Living standards have risen for the workers concerned; new wealth has been created; private enterprise exists now in areas where it did not exist before.

Volta Redonda, now self-amortizing and paying six and eight percent dividends, is thus a concrete illustration of the fact that public funds can pave the way for the profitable use of private investments.

Some of the objection to the investment program of Point Four seems to be based on the apparent belief of various spokesmen for the business community that greater stability, economic or financial, must come first, before investment.

As in all underdeveloped areas, capital is scarce in Brazil. Because it is scarce, it is at a premium. These premiums include high profits, low taxes, favors for needed investments, and a framework of liberal laws.

But when a high degree of stability is reached, the high premium for new capital ceases. It is the early bird that gets the best breakfast. One cannot demand stability *before* investments have built up the economic development which itself creates stability.

The essence of Point Four, and something for those who lead private enterprise to bear in mind if they hope to keep their role, is simply this:

Stability and prosperity are *effects* and not *causes* of economic development. And investment is the creative force required.

The Nine Rules of Friendship

By HERSCHEL V. JOHNSON
US Ambassador to Brazil

THE long friendship between Brazil and the United States is an effective demonstration of the Good Neighbor program on which US policy in the American republics is based. Almost since the beginning of their existence as independent nations, these two countries have lived in mutual respect, confidence and cooperation.

As far back as the earliest days of its life, the United States was advised by one of its great leaders to seek friendship with Brazil. Thomas Jefferson urged his country to seek a strong and independent Brazil, linked with friendship to the United States in an effort to preserve peace in this Hemisphere and to resist aggression from Europe.

Jefferson's dream of cooperation between Brazil and the United States came closer to realization in 1823 when President Monroe enunciated the doctrine which bears his name and in which the United States suggested that this Hemisphere be closed to further colonization by Europe.

Brazil immediately responded to this suggestion and with the other nations of the Hemisphere gave this policy a multilateral character. This, in turn, formed the basis of the Good Neighbor program which President Franklin D. Roosevelt was to proclaim in 1936. The Monroe Doctrine, as accepted and developed by the nations of the Western Hemisphere through the years, has probably brought more peace to more peoples in a larger area and over a longer period of time than any other proposal for keeping the peace.

A hundred years after the enunciation of the Monroe Doctrine, the great Brazilian statesman Ruy Barbosa expressed to Secretary of State Hughes the policy which he believed his country should follow. He said: "We have a common destiny with the United States: the destiny of cooperation with you, as much as we can, for peace and for freedom of nations, for morality of policy and for the progress of mankind."

Cooperation between these two large and friendly nations thus is firmly rooted in tradition. It has survived and grown through two World Wars. In the first World War, Brazil assisted the Allied cause by sending a medical unit to Europe. In the second world conflict, Brazilian troops fought shoulder to shoulder with their American comrades-in-arms as part of the same army. The record of their victorious campaign through Italy has become a proud chapter in the history of the democratic resistance to Axis tyranny.

In further cooperation with the United States, Brazil readily extended the use of a wide area of its territory to permit the Allies to press the fight against the enemy in Africa. The northeastern section of Brazil became famous as "The Springboard of Victory" in the common struggle and eventual success of the African campaign. At the same time that American soldiers were on duty in northeast Brazil, Brazilian and American naval forces were cooperatively patrolling the South Atlantic against enemy submarines.

The visit of President Truman to Brazil in 1947 for the signing of the Rio treaty was another high point in the demonstration of friendship and cooperation between the two countries. The crowds who acclaimed President Truman along the Avenida Rio Branco in Rio de Janeiro were equalled in enthusiasm only by those which hailed President Dutra along Fifth Avenue in New York two years later.

The words of President Dutra before the joint session of the United States Congress on that visit are worth recalling. He said: "I believe and hope that the friendship between our two countries is gaining more and more strength in the daily solution of our problems as we follow a common road in search of the ideals of humanity and justice."

The record of economic cooperation between Brazil and the United States is equally impressive. The two countries have undertaken joint projects such as the exhaustive survey of Brazilian economic resources of 1948–49 in which both nations participated to lay the basis for further cooperation. A joint economic declaration was issued by the presidents of the two countries last year designed to cement commercial relations for mutual benefit. Loans to Brazil for expansion of its steel production and other developments have been made on a cooperative basis.

In view of the historical record, the present friendship and the mutual confidence in future cooperation, Brazil and the United States continue to live in harmony and accord. They present a proved application of the Good Neighbor policy. This policy was recently reiterated by Secretary of State Acheson when he enumerated its basic points for the present-day as these:

Our essential faith in the worth of the individual;

The preservation of our way of life without trying to impose it on others;

The observance by all governments of ethical standards based on justice and respect for freely accepted international obligations;

Protection of the legitimate interests of all other peoples and governments;

The juridical equality of all the American republics;

Nonintervention in the internal or external affairs of any American republic;

The stimulation of private effort as the most important factor in all fields;

The perfection, with other American countries, of regional and universal arrangements for maintaining international peace;

The promotion of the economic, social, and political welfare of the people of the American republics.

Black, Hot, Pure, Sweet

By **THEOPHILO de ANDRADE**
President, Pan-American Coffee Bureau
Author of "O Rio Parana"

EVERY morning, a hundred million Americans start their day with a cup of coffee at breakfast. During the mid-morning hours eighteen million enjoy a second cup and forty-two million have coffee with their luncheon. During the afternoon still other millions take a moment off for relaxation over a cup of the stimulating brown beverage and more than fifty million end their evening meal with a brimming cup of coffee.

This routine is not an exception. It is repeated by countless coffee addicts on five continents, notably in all Western Europe, the Balkans, the Moslem world of the Middle East and North Africa, Indonesia and Latin America.

In consequence, coffee has become a tremendous industry. It supplies to other countries a popularly desired commodity which those countries cannot economically produce for themselves. By so doing, it earns for the nations who grow it the money with which they buy the products of industry they need for their economic development, improving their standard of living, expanding health and educational facilities, and for the development of that economic strength which enables them to maintain their cherished independence.

In the United States alone, coffee earns for the coffee-producing countries three-quarters of a billion dollars a year and, in the rest of the world, other millions of dollars. Almost unique in the world of commerce, coffee has become a true medium of reciprocal trade in free, open markets everywhere.

Where and when the first cup of coffee was brewed no one knows, but there is evidence that the coffee tree, as we know it, is indigenous to Abyssinia. We know that coffee was first mentioned in the world's literature by

WORK seems to be a game to this smiling girl who bounces coffee beans on a screen as a part of cleaning and sorting process.

the learned Rhazes, an Arabian physician, about 900 A.D.

During the Middle Ages coffee was largely confined to the Middle East and, in the Western World, was considered to be an infidel drink. When it first found its way into Christendom a group of priests appealed to Pope Clement VIII (1535–1605) to forbid its use. After the good Pope sampled the beverage, history tells us, he exclaimed: "Why, this Satan's drink is so delicious that it would be a pity to let the infidels have exclusive use of it." Thereupon, it is reported, he formally baptized it, making coffee a "truly Christian beverage."

It was during the great Renaissance that the drinking of coffee in Europe became the pleasure of the people as well as the privilege of kings. Public coffee houses attained tremendous popularity and coffee was made the theme of essays, poems and musical compositions.

Voltaire, one of the architects of the French Revolution, consumed no less than fifty cups a day. Talleyrand, the great diplomat, gave his own version of the ideal cup of coffee as: "Black as the Devil, hot as Hell, pure as an angel, and sweet as love." The *Coffee Cantata*, composed by Johan Sebastian Bach and published in 1732, is still, today, a favorite wherever classical music is enjoyed.

It was not until the coffee tree found its ideal home in the New World, however, that coffee became abundant and its price could be brought within the reach of the common man. This singularly important event took place in the early 1700's. Until that time the coffee tree was carefully guarded and its production strictly proscribed.

Numerous attempts had been made to smuggle seedling trees to other climes but these had largely ended in failure until Gabriel Mathieu de Clieu, with the connivance of a high lady at the French Court, managed to secure three seedlings from the guarded botanical gardens. On the long journey to the Island of Martinique, de Clieu had to overcome both intrigue and the elements of nature to protect his precious charge. By sharing his ration of drinking water with the little trees during the long period in which his ship was becalmed, he managed to keep them alive. One of the tiny trees survived the ordeal and was successfully transplanted on the French island of the West Indies.

It was from that one seedling that has come most of the billions of coffee trees that now flourish in the American Hemisphere. Today, the fourteen coffee-producing nations of America grow almost 90% of the world's coffee, with Brazil contributing about 50% and Colombia 20% of the total.

Coffee growing is a royal enterprise in its demands. The coffee tree will flourish only in that section of the world lying in the tropic belt. Even within that prescribed range, however, it demands certain types of soil, certain amounts of moisture, sun, certain degrees of altitude. Too, the cultivation of coffee requires infinite care, from the time the seed is sown in special nurseries, through its transplanting into specially prepared soil and through its five years of growth before it begins to bear. So, in addition to everything else, coffee requires an abundant supply of labor. And in Latin America all these requirements are ideally met. Here are the physical properties of the earth, and the hundreds of thousands of devoted men and women who, through generations, have passed on the technique of coffee growing.

It is a constant source of wonder, knowing these demands, that coffee has become such a tremendous industry. The Latin American nations are currently supplying coffee to the world at the rate of some *four billion pounds* a year. This, certainly, describes a mass industry; yet coffee cannot be mass-produced. Just as the nurture of the tree itself requires constant human attention, so also does the harvesting and processing of the crop. No machinery has been yet devised to replace human hands in the picking, and, to a great extent, in the pulping, cleaning, drying, sorting, grading and final preparation of the green coffee berries for shipment to the processing plants and ovens of the great roasting industry.

An index to this handicraft is the fact that it requires some three thousand five hundred coffee berries—picked, sorted, and graded—to make one pound of roasted coffee. And, a mature coffee tree will produce, on the average, only enough berries to make one pound of coffee per year!

The coffee-grower's lot is not an easy one. He has enjoyed brief years of prosperity, when coffee-growing "was more profitable than gold mining." He has survived the longer periods when the twin evils of over-production and depressed market conditions conspired to make of his life an economic hardship.

After nearly twenty lean years, today the coffee-grower is once again emerging from a period of economic drought. A year ago the last of the vast surplus of coffee was exhausted, a circumstance which inevitably led to an adjustment in price. The shock that followed expressed itself in conflict of opinions, charges and countercharges and political investigations.

The economic facts, however, are clear and simple. And if the housewife wonders why she has to pay more for coffee, here is the answer. The world is simply demanding more coffee than can currently be produced. And the coffee we are buying today, for the first time in nearly two decades, reflects the increased costs of today's production.

Currently, demand exceeds available supply, but all that is needed to restore a healthy balance between production and consumption is a fair price for coffee which will assure the grower reasonable returns for his efforts. Such assurance will naturally result in an expansion of those efforts and a consequent increase in coffee cultivation.

Whether or not this in turn will lead to a reduction of the price of the coffee is a question impossible to answer at the moment, for too many factors and too many imponderables are involved.

In the meantime, coffee remains an enduring economic foundation for many free nations. Now that its economic balance has been restored it continues to be the source of the means with which the coffee-growing nations of the Americas maintain their steady march of progress.

Montparnasse of The Hemisphere

By CARLETON SPRAGUE SMITH
US Cultural Attaché in São Paulo, 1944–46.

WHAT New York's 1913 Armory show meant for the US, was achieved for Brazil by São Paulo's famous *Semana de Arte Moderna* of 1922. It proclaimed the triumph of modern art over conservatism.

Ever since that memorable week, São Paulo has been the home of Brazil's most productive school of painting.

Candido Portinari, the century's leading painter, has not lived in his native state for many years but his canvases reflect the spirit of the coffee center to an extraordinary degree. Portinari is to painting what Villa-Lobos is to music; a synthesis of the present and the past. A brilliant technician—with a social message, he is an engaging personality of irrespressible energy. His style has changed a number of times and he has been criticized for following the trends of the artistic world too closely. Whatever he paints, however, is thoroughly his own and his draftmanship and imagination place him in the forefront of contemporary New World painters.

Those who reside in São Paulo permanently include the pioneer modernist Tarsila do Amaral; the Polish-Brazilian Lasar Segall, who has worked out a restrained but tremendously moving style; Emiliano Di Cavalcanti, whose bold frescoes for the new theatre of the Cultura Artistica are truly remarkable; Flavio de Carvalho, eccentric amateur and organizer; Fulvio Penacchi, who has painted Giotto-like frescoes for churches; Clovis Graciano, creator of drawings and gouaches full of movement and vigor; and Alfredo Volpi, whose works for the ceramic group Osir-Arte are extremely interesting.

The tiles of Paulo Rossi and his associates, used in many of the more important public buildings, have become a definite feature of contemporary Brazilian art and architecture.

In sculpture, mention should be made of the sensitive Bruno Giorgi, who worked in Rome and Paris (Atelier of Maillol); the French neo-classicist Victor Brecheret and the late Italian Ernesto De Fiori, whose expressive heads are highly prized.

Far to the north in Ceará, new names are coming to the fore: Bandeira and Inimá, for instance; the Pernambucano, Cicero Dias, now lives in Paris but is still an influence and his bold color and poetic surrealism are greatly respected. Luis Soares has depicted the processions and festivities of Pernambuco, while Lula Cardoso Ayres has worked out a style which is inspired partly by ceramics. The south has such figures as Angelo Guido, Luis Maristany, João Fahrion, Scliar, now in São Paulo, and the academic sculptor Caringhi.

In Minas Geraes, Alberto Guignard, after Portinari, is one of Brazil's most original painters.

Rio de Janeiro, the home of Portinari for a number of years, has naturally an important art colony. Outstanding figures include Roberto Burle Marx, the country's leading landscape architect, whose coloristic sensibility puts him in the forefront of the younger generation; the versatile Santa Rosa; the transplanted Russian Dimitri Isamailovitch, primarily a portraitist; the writer Jorge de Lima, whose paintings are a mixture of Toulouse-Lautrec and the pre-Raphaelite school; the neo-primitive Heitor dos Prazeres, Oswaldo Teixeira, Director of the Museu Nacional de Bellas Artes, an eclectic academic illustrator-artist, and Orlando Terruz, whose personal portraits of Brazilian Negros are very well done.

The sculptor Maria Martins, wife of the diplomat Carlos Martins, well-known in the United States and Europe, where her works are owned by many museums, also belongs in this group.

* * *

Brazil is probably the world's leading country in the field of modern architecture. Bold experiments have been carried out with reinforced concrete and with the control of light by thin solid walls, glass walls and movable shutters. Brazilians have studied the techniques used at the *Bauhaus* in Germany and by such individuals as Le Corbusier and Frank Lloyd Wright, but have adapted 20th Century ideas generally to local conditions in the most imaginative and

original manner. The result is that the Brazilian style is internationally recognized today and the works of Lucio Costa, Rino Levi, Eduardo Kneese de Mello, J. Vilanova Artigas, Gregor Warchavchik, the Roberto Brothers, Vital Brasil and Oscar Niemeyer are known and studied everywhere. More recently the ideas of Niemeyer were influential in the plans for the United Nations building site in New York City. Whether it is a modern hotel, an airport, a casino, or a Ministry of Education Building, Brazilian architects have made constructions from which the entire world is eager to learn.

* * *

When the history of 20th Century music is written, the role of Brazil cannot be ignored. Any country that contributes popular dances to its century deserves attention. Starting with the maxixe which appeared in Europe around 1890 and began a vogue for exotic dance music, Brazil went on to evolve the samba, a dance in duple meter with syncopated rhythm which in its many ramifications expresses the soul of carnival. There are rural and urban sambas but all are a mixture of African and Portuguese elements and thoroughly New World.

Perhaps because of its pre-eminence in popular music, some of the most significant art music of the New World has been written in this Portuguese-speaking land.

The leading creator, Heitor Villa-Lobos, is a man of extraordinary imagination, vitality and fertility. Some of his music derives from the folklore of the country, containing Portuguese, Indian, African and mixed elements; some is international in style. His music when all is said and done, however, is more an expression of his own personality than anything else. This is the best way to write national music; if it has character and color it will be taken to the nation's heart, given widespread acclaim and posterity will read into it the necessary national traits.

The great hope of the young generation is Camargo Guarnieri, a composer and orchestrator of fine taste and an unmistakably Brazilian stamp.

* * *

The theatre has acquired a new lease on life in the last fifteen years. There are some excellent professional performer-producers, such as: Procopio Ferreira, Dulcina and Odillon, Jaime Costa, Raul Roulien, and others. Foreign companies from Portugal, Spain, France and Italy and even England appear from time to time, usually with a guarantee from the Municipal theatres in Rio and São Paulo.

Light operettas, zarzuelas, revues and musical vaudevilles are also popular, although for a time they were displaced by moving pictures.

The experimental theatres of the last few years are perhaps the most interesting development both for actors and playwrights. Owing to the increasing popularity of English as a second language, there are a number of important amateur companies managed by English and Americans in Rio and São Paulo (*The Rio Theatre Guild, The Players,* etc.) that have been a great stimulus to local groups.

Brazil's Government also has set up the National Theatre Service which is part of the Ministry of Education and Health, to coordinate theatrical matters. The present director Agostino Olavo Rodrigues, is a writer-producer and the service has established a National School of the Theatre; this will become a part of the national university and later feed into a National Theatre.

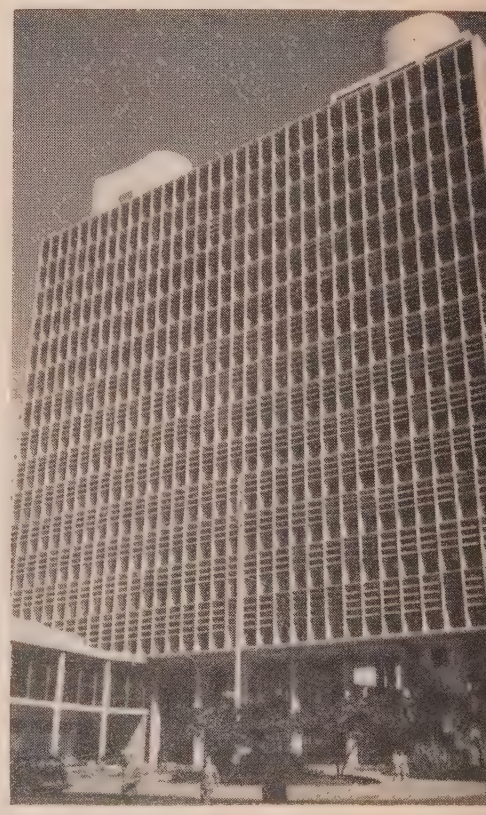
There is also a Teatro Experimental do Negro, established by the lawyer Abdias Nascimento half a dozen years ago, primarily interested in themes which will appeal to those concerned with the advancement of colored people. Since there is practically no race problem in Brazil this seems a bit strange, but the influence of North America is evident and the plays include O'Neill's *Emperor Jones, All God's Chillun Got Wings,* Langston Hughes' *Mulatto,* etc.

Brazil has some interesting playwrights, beginning with Oduvaldo Vianna, the author of *Amor* and going on to Raymundo Magalhães Jr., whose comedy *Carlota Joaquina* is justly popular. The older generation is represented by Claudio de Sousa, who is generally quite Gallic. Ernani Fornari has written at least two successes *Ya Ya Boneca* and *Sinha Moca Chourou,* while Lucia Benedetti has written pieces of particular interest for children. Another producer playwright, Joracy Camargo, is responsible for *Anastaçio and Deus lhe Pague,* a delightful social satire on beggars, often played beyond the borders of Brazil.

No discussion of Brazilian cultural contributions in the 20th Century can omit the name of the late Mario de Andrade, a man with an amazing instinct for organic trends in art and a marvelous gift for writing about them. His writings on painting, architecture, music and the theatre are among the most stimulating essays of our time. For a few years Mario de Andrade was head of the Departamento de Cultura in São Paulo and it was during this period that the splendid Discotheca was founded, the Coral Paulistano established, and many other features which have been models of their kind.

Andrade will always be remembered as one of the most brilliant of the brilliant men who have helped Brazil to achieve an exceptionally important place in the artistic life of this hemisphere and of the world.

RIO'S Ministry of Education. Oscar Niemeyer, architect. The modern public buildings, like the one below, lead Brazil's parade of avantgarde architecture



Farewell, Flesh!

By **OWEN ROCHE**
Veteran Rio Correspondent

INVITATION TO FUN is expressed by the dynamic gesture of this entertainer in a gay Rio club at the height of carnival.

THERE will be four nights in Rio next February when Orpheus will keep Morpheus awake. There will be three days of singing, dancing and laughter. It will be Carnival time.

Out into the streets for this pre-Lenten festival will pour hundreds of thousands of Cariocas—sober businessmen, staid matrons, housemaids, bricklayers, politicians. They will no longer be sober or staid. They will no longer be businessmen or bricklayers. They will be, for a kaleidoscopic whirl of time, only their own, true selves.

In origin, perhaps even in essence, Carnival time in Rio differs little from carnival time in any community whose cultural base is Roman Catholic and Latin. In the old days, when Latin was still spoken, it was the time when religious folk said *carne, vale* —"flesh, farewell." And just to seal the vow, they would get in a few days of high, old times, to strengthen them against the time of fasting.

Carnival starts on Saturday night. About six or so in the evening, a mad whirl of Cariocas converges on Avenida Rio Branco. Down the Avenue, under brilliant decorations, winds a dancing, singing throng, each dressed according to his

A CATARACT of imitation jewelry over the bosom and great numbers of bracelets are the basic uniform for the Rio carnival.

whimsy, in ridiculous, fancy, or exotic garb. All over the city, the air is filled with the unmistakable beat of a samba, a new samba, one that he has never heard before. But the typical song of Carnival is not the samba. It is the marchinha.

In a sense, the marchinha might be called a Brazilian limerick set to music. Like a limerick, its shading is sometimes a little off—but it doesn't have to be naughty, it just has to be witty. Marchinha composers publish words and music before Carnival, but the crowds create their own versions, in which they insist that all men have the right to two heads, or praise the undeniable merits of snake tails, or lament the darkly lovely maiden who wouldn't say yes, or would.

Later, in their weird costumes, the Saturday night Carnival throngs besiege the dance-halls. Sometimes, where they can, they dance pair by pair, but a Rio dance-hall on a Carnival night is like a rhythmic, musical subway crush. The crush was the real origin of the *cordão*, a sort of crack-the-whip dance, a serpentine, stomping, singing line of terpsichorean prancers.

Solitude is one of the few sins in Carnival time. No Carioca will be

DAISY was queen of 1948 carnival. Four days and nights she danced in every club and street. Note her glittering crown.

alone when the sambas and the marchinhas are sung. For him, Carnival means the crowds, the inevitable heaviness of the inside air, the blast of orchestras and voices blending five, six or seven tunes all at once, the light, the color, and, above all, perhaps, the sense of belonging. The whole street is a dance-hall, where carnival groups gather as friendly rivals to war on each other in battles of confetti.

Sunday morning comes the rush to the beaches. Some come pell-mell, directly from a night of celebration. Others have managed to get in a few hours sleep. The gaiety of the first night is still with them. Crepe-paper bathing suits, of every imaginable color and mixture of hues, cover the celebrants, and their faces, legs, arms, sometimes even their feet, are daubed with gay paints. The crowd of bathers makes the beach into a pattern of color, and beyond them, the blue waters of the bay, ringed around by the incomparable and indescribable beauty of Rio, complete the picture. The first comers rush out into the water. The crepe-paper suits come off. Everybody knows that regular bathing suits are worn underneath, everybody, that is, except the tourists, who gasp.

After the dips and a few more nips, the crowds gradually disperse for a while, but soon everything starts all over again, for Sunday night is an exact repetition of all the ecstasies Saturday night had offered.

Strangely enough, on Monday morning some Cariocas actually go back to work. They stumble in to sit at their desks for a half day, alternately running to the window, having a cup of coffee, and maybe, at rare intervals, signing a paper or pondering over some bit of office red-tape. Most folks, of course, simply ignore the fact that Monday morning, legally, is a work day. And in many cases, even if they went to work, there would be nobody in their office to work with.

Monday night is distinguished especially by the gala ball at the Municipal Theatre. The orchestra floor of this theatre, the most elegant in the city, is made into a giant ballroom. And where a capacity audience of some 3,000 might ordinarily sit, as many as 7,000 Cariocas will crowd, for this is *the* event of Carnival, when prizes are given for costumes and songs. Outside the Theatre, the rest of Rio whirls into a myriad of simultaneous celebrations. After all, there are more than two million people in the Brazilian capital. They can't all get into the Municipal Theatre, try though they may.

Even on Tuesday, last day of Carnival, the merry whirl goes on. There are plenty of hardy souls left to crowd the streets, to sing, perhaps a little hoarsely, and finally, gathering by the thousands in Avenida Rio Branco and along the itinerary, to cheer the parade of the floats.

There are two basic themes in Carnival floats, or, rather, there are two basic types of design. One is the work of traditional art, a masterpiece of living or sculptured design, representative of some historical, allegorical or cultural subject. The other is also a work of art, but of another kind. It is a political, economic or just nonsensical representation, a three-dimensional cartoon and tableau, uproariously funny, and, at times, savagely sardonic. The best floats in each class, prepared with great care and expense by organized Carnival clubs and with the financial assistance of the city government, win prizes for their sponsors. The people cheer (they have been known to boo, too). Then the grand prize is awarded, almost always to the traditionally artistic float.

After that, slowly, as a bag-pipe wail dies out, Carnival comes to an end. Ash Wednesday in Rio is the quietest day in the year. Except for one thing.

It is on Ash Wednesday that the "bull-pens" open and those celebrants who went a bit beyond the bounds are let out. Every man, woman and child in town who can stagger down to the *xadrés* (the "hoosegow"), hurries to watch this final parade of Carnival.

In the sheep-faced huddle of transgressors may be Uncle Zebedeu or Aunt Amelia, or even the smart-aleck son of some local politico who couldn't reach his father by phone. Everybody laughs. The sheep-faces relax. Carnival is over.

INTENSE ADMIRATION on small girl's face, at left, is for dancers who seem to float in the air waving their umbrellas.

Matté Tea

LONG before the white man came to Brazil, the Indians told the story. An Indian warrior, it was said, was roaming the forest when he came on two beautiful young Indian maidens trembling in terror of something the warrior could not see. Stepping forward, the Indian saw a jaguar poised to spring on the maidens. He lifted his bow and shot an arrow at the great cat. Wounded, it turned on him, leaped at his throat and threw him to the ground.

Man and beast fought to the death. The jaguar left terrible wounds on the man, but at last the Indian managed to stab the jaguar to the heart. Half-conscious from loss of blood, he staggered up and looked about for the two maidens. They had gone.

Half-fainting, he lay down to rest and fell asleep. At once he began to dream. The two maidens appeared again in his dream, pleading with their eyes for forgiveness for having vanished. And beside them stood a magical tree, such a tree as the Indian had never seen before. One of the maidens spoke, "The leaves of this tree are enchanted. Steep them and drink the brew and your health and strength will return."

The dream ended. The Indian awoke to find the tree of the dream. He brewed its leaves and recovered his strength.

And ever since then Brazilians—and also Argentines, Uruguayans, Paraguayans and many others—have drunk *matte* tea and, revived, told the story.

Matte has indeed been, through the ages, a strong support to Brazilian energies, exhausted by the heat. Theodore Roosevelt wrote: "*Matte,* the tea of Brazil, should not be forgotten. It is a valuable beverage. With it, a native can do a wonderful amount of work on little food. Upon the tired traveler it has a very refreshing effect."

His distant cousin Franklin D. Roosevelt said, "*Matte* has all the pick-up qualities of coffee. It is an excellent tonic, and something that does not compete with anything we produce."

The *matte* tree is a form of holly, *ilex paraguayensis.* The tea helps to prevent scurvy and other vitamin deficiencies. The gauchos of the cattle country drink freshly ground *matte* (*chimarrao*) in dried grouds through a silver tube (*bombilla*) or a straw. The word *matti* means gourd to the Guarani Indians who call the tea by the shortened word, "ti."

Readers may obtain samples on request from the Brazilian Government Trade Bureau, 551 Fifth Ave., NYC.

It is made by pouring boiling water on the dried leaves and allowing it to steep for five minutes. It should not be boiled or allowed to stand too long. It can be served with lemon or cream. *Matte* has somewhat more caffeine than coffee and three or four times as much healthful chlorophyl as tea. It makes a fine cold drink as well as a hot drink. M. H.

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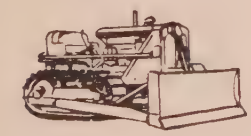

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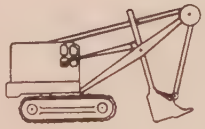

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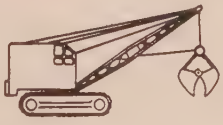

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Helping to build a better Brazil

You Can Do Business With Brazil

By JACK FRYE
President, General Aniline and Film Corp.

TEXAS fills a large part of the map of the United States, but Texas with 267,000 square miles could be put away in one corner of Brazil's 3,286,000 square miles. Brazil has 50,000,000 people; Texas numbers about 8,000,000. As a transplanted Texan, I have no desire here to labor the point. Brazil is fifteen times as big as Texas and is, therefore, a very large country with a large population. Understanding that much, it is obvious that Brazil has the main attributes on which trade depends.

Prior to World War II, General Aniline & Film Corporation carried on a very limited trade in the export market, and its business with Brazil was negligible. Contractual limitations imposed upon it under an agreement with I. G. Farben very effectively shut out all Latin America as a customer for General Aniline's products. Farben reserved that market to itself, excluding our dyestuffs, textile auxiliaries, Ansco cameras and film, Ozalid products, etc.

General Aniline's history as an exporter to Latin America is therefore very brief. Today its export volume is more than 12 percent of all sales.

The years since the end of the War have not been entirely satisfactory for the purpose of gauging the effectiveness of any export operation and this is particularly true of General Aniline. Why this is so will become apparent by enumerating a few of the reasons why we, or any other company, engage in export business.

First, it is always sound thinking to plan for a period when the domestic demand may be reduced. That is especially true at this time when we have the large industrial capacity developed during and since the War. Exports provide a more or less constant stabilizing factor. In the depression of the thirties, although all countries eventually were affected, they were not stricken simultaneously and so those companies with a sizable export business were able to weather the depression years better than others which had not cultivated foreign markets.

Another reason for exporting is that a company with export markets can test a new product abroad without affecting its position in the more important domestic market. It is also true that increased prestige of brand names in the world market is beneficial in the home field.

Unrestricted trade among nations is probably the best guarantee of world peace and whether we adopt this principle for business reasons or as an expression of our social conscience, does not make much difference. In point of fact, the result is the same.

The pent-up demand during the immediate post-war years meant that the export market had to be temporarily slighted because the domestic customers were taking most of our output. As a result we believe exports to be far behind their potential. Our post-war expansion program in all divisions is now virtually completed and our production capacity greatly increased. This is heartening news for our export people and provides them with their first real opportunity to show their foreign contacts what we can do for them.

Brazil is high on the list of desirables. Somebody has said that if Horace Greeley were alive today he wouldn't advise young men to "go West." He would urge them to rush to Brazil.

The warmth of General Aniline's interest in doing business with Brazil is the result of our conviction that it offers greater trade possibilities than any other country in the world.

Let's consider just one facet of Brazilian industry in which General Aniline, as a dyestuff manufacturer, has a stake. That State of São Paulo has a present population of about 8,000,000 people. In this State there are fifty-eight woollen mills. Nine of these are completely integrated with spinning, weaving, dyeing and finishing processes. Each year production increases.

There are several reasons for the concentration of a woollen textile industry in São Paulo, among them a readily available and unlimited supply of electric power at low rates, the proximity of Rio, the capital and a large center of consumption, and a first rate labor supply.

The immigrant labor, coming as it does mainly from Germany, Switzerland, Belgium and Italy, has a heritage of industrial occupation. Weaving, dyeing and finishing machinery is made in Brazil and with the exception of spindles, Brazil is able to supply all machinery for making woollen textiles. Mills produce men's and women's wear as well as textiles for industry such as upholstery materials and specialties. The country is steadily evolving. The people want to dress better. The ready-made clothing industry is having a remarkable development. Millions of suits, coats and dresses are made each year for

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sale in the best shops in the coastal cities as well as in the interior. This has caused a drop in prices and increased production, with enlarged purchasing of dyestuffs and textile finishes as a consequence. Brazil is now our principal customer in South America.

Of course Brazil, like most nations of the world, has been hampered in its trade with the United States by the dollar shortage, but Brazilians have displayed a rare brand of resourcefulness in meeting the problem. They have encouraged cooperative efforts which have supported the trade volume.

Specifically, General Aniline entered into an agreement with the Banco do Brasil regarding the extension of a dollar credit, which grew to a substantial sum, and represented a distinct advantage to Brazil and to this company.

Another example of enlightened foreign trading has been the encouragement of barter trade by the Brazilian Government. As a supplement to conventional trade, this device has provided a side road for traffic which was detoured from the main highway. Barter has enabled Brazil to dispose of a large portion of her surpluses and has given this and many other US companies the opportunity to sustain their volume of Brazilian sales.

Resourceful, sensible and prudent, the Brazilians have shown a financial acumen which steadily has narrowed the "Dollar Gap." On the basis of this record, it can be said that the final step of achieving a balance of payments with the United States may not lie too far ahead. We recognize the fact that this entails Brazil's ability to export even more of its goods to the United States, and we are pleased that General Aniline & Film will be a partner in this achievement.

The prestige of the United States in Brazil is right now at a high peak. The "Good Neighbor" policy has paid dividends. The atmosphere is pervaded with goodwill. Properly fostered, it will be of incalculable benefit to the future of American foreign commerce. How successfully we in American industry do business with Brazil rests mainly with us.

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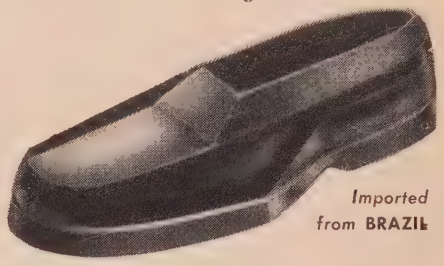

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The Crossroads of Capitalization

By EUVALDO LODI
President, National Confederation of Industry of Brazil

In Brazil the supply of private capital is not sufficient to permit the full exploitation of investment possibilities, a situation which is in direct contrast to that existing in more highly developed economies where the problem is to provide enough investment possibilities to absorb the total volume of private savings.

Considered from the purely domestic angle, the difficulty facing my country is that in the absence of a flow of capital from abroad, the rate of capitalization can be increased only by a postponement of the expansion of consumption levels or by the channeling of capital into the fields where it will contribute most rapidly to the increase of general productivity. Whatever the process resorted to at home, it inevitably supposes intervention in foreign trade, because in the conditions presently governing Brazil's economic structure, an increase in the national income, while it does not necessarily imply an increase in exports, tends to increase the volume of imports.

Such a policy, inevitable in the absence of international cooperation, carries with it in addition to domestic sacrifices which would otherwise be unnecessary, an intensification of economic nationalism. Hence the keen interest with which my country seeks to contribute to the perfecting of an international system of economic cooperation. Meanwhile the international commitments which we have assumed force us into a contradictory position. While on the one hand they weaken the tendency toward economic nationalism, they do not, on the other hand, offer us the necessary collaboration, and therefore they become obstacles to economic development.

The present system of economic cooperation until now consists of two essential parts: The Bretton Woods monetary agreements, out of which grew the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development; and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

The application of the former, as experience has proved, is not satisfactory. Its emphasis has been on the solution of short-term problems, and the importance of problems of economic development, already manifest in the pre-war period and intensified as a result of the conflict, was underestimated.

The persistent fluctuations of international trade, the instability of exchange, the inconvertibility of currencies and the predominance of exchange controls and quantitative restrictions are thwarting the objectives of the Fund. In the case of the Bank, the inadequacy of its resources for fulfilling its twofold purpose of reconstruction and development tends to make it an institution dedicated to the purpose of preventing resources available for short-term stabilization from being applied to long-term investments. Furthermore, as a consequence, the available resources of the Bank are reserved for special purposes rather than for general development loans.

A blueprint for trade relations is drawn up in the Havana Charter, which, although it recognizes the importance of development and reconstruction for sound expansion of international transactions, has as its primary objective the reduction of barriers to world trade on a multilateral and reciprocal basis. In this document an attempt is made to establish a correlation between the elimination of the defenses necessarily resorted to by economically underdeveloped countries and the measures of technical, fiscal and financial assistance taken in cooperation with more highly developed countries to promote the elevation of their levels of productivity. But this attempt as it appears in the Charter is merely a formality. The provisions on economic development are too abstract.

The insufficiency of such instruments of international economic cooperation gave rise to direct measures designed to restore or raise the productivity of the countries of Western Europe.

Practically speaking, the Marshall Plan has proved to be the most important measure of its kind as yet taken in the field of international relations. Nevertheless, the realization of its full possibilities has been hampered by its failure to take into account that the stabilization of world economy required not only the reconstruction of Europe but a corresponding development of economically backward areas.

The fact is that the planning and execution of the Marshall Plan represented an attempt to re-establish the economic structure of the pre-war world without taking into consideration the changes which the war itself had brought about, such as the extraordinary increase of productivity in the United States and the structural changes experienced by the economies of the countries producing and exporting raw materials. The result is that two different markets—the United States and Europe—incapable of absorbing from each other the total quantity of exports which their domestic policies of full employment demand, are facing the market, at present restricted but potentially vast, of the economically underdeveloped countries. The capacity for expansion of the demand for foreign products in

these countries is hampered by the absence of a substantial and stable influx of foreign capital and by their limited possibilities for export, which can be increased only with the sacrifice represented by the deterioration of their "terms of trade."

The hope that a satisfactory solution to this problem could be found was encouraged by President Truman's announcement of his Point Four program, whereby it was proposed to extend the benefits of industrial and scientific progress to underdeveloped areas. This program envisaged a great increase in the industrial activity of other countries and the substantial elevation of their standards of living. The plan was designed to promote the expansion of the flow of capital to the underdeveloped areas and to expand international markets by stimulating the demand for United States and European goods.

Initially, however, the Point Four program, notwithstanding the vastness of the resources at its disposal, was limited to the supplying of the technical assistance necessary for improving methods of production in the underdeveloped countries.

Unquestionably, adequate technical training is a *sine qua non* of economic progress. But in the case of underdeveloped economies, the mobilization of technical resources requires capital not only of a physical but of a monetary order, the shortage of which is precisely the basic obstacle to economic development. Therefore the Truman program seeks to stimulate the flow of private capital, which would constitute the principal source of foreign investments in the underdeveloped areas. But the currents of private capital are notoriously unstable; they tend to swell in times of prosperity and to decrease in times of depression. It is difficult to base a stable development program on such a shifting foundation.

In my opinion, this situation can be remedied within a reasonable period of time only by the influx of investments by foreign governments.

Since the last war Brazil has made a considerable effort to liberalize her legislation concerning foreign investments.

However, it became necessary to control international payments in current accounts of the country. But such controls are exercised primarily over imports, foreign exchange quotas for remittances connected with the return and profit on capital, on a basis of 20% and 8% respectively, being, within reasonable limits, assured. Notwithstanding the above-indicated liberality of our institutions and in spite of the concrete measures described, the total picture of the movement of foreign capital in the country is not auspicious.

Experience has led Brazilian economists to recognize that they had overestimated the importance of liberal treatment with regard to foreign investments as a condition which would attract new investments of foreign private capital.

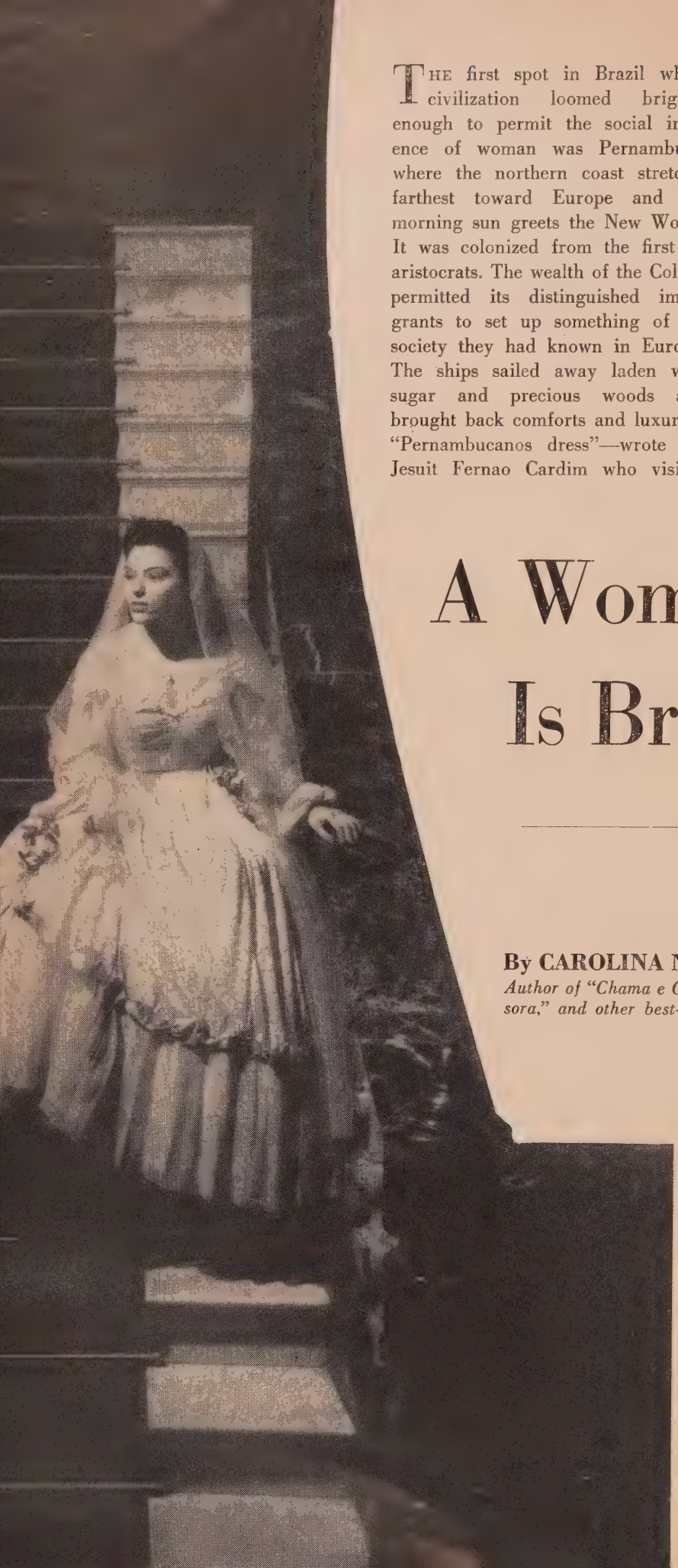
In short, in the absence of effective international economic cooperation, our country, relying on her own resources and efforts, has no other alternative than to follow a deliberate policy of domestic development which does not go beyond the intentional and more accelerated form of the unintentional and spontaneous process of growth, between the two wars, of Brazil's economy. This process requires a progressive increase in the importation of essential commodities; at the same time it is doubtful that the rate of increase of world demand for our raw materials will keep pace with the increase in our own demand for essential imports.

In Brazil this incipient industrialization, while making it possible to satisfy the basic demands of the masses, offering them in place of inaccessible foreign products a domestic substitute, at the same time created a demand for other types of imports, indispensable for the upkeep and expansion of existing industry, such as machinery, fuels, and raw materials. Therefore the discrepancy in the balance of payments still could not be remedied. It was to exist simultaneously with the growth in productivity, the expansion of the domestic market and the raising of living standards. Even if the former production structure had been maintained, this discrepancy would still have existed, aggravated by the reduction in domestic activities, the diminution of purchasing power and the inevitable deterioration of living standards. The same conditions which engendered the first phase of Brazilian industrialization, that is, the manufacture of articles of domestic consumption, would demand an ever-increasing process of replacing imported by home-produced goods. The production of capital goods, such as, for example, the steel and cement industries, was the next phase of industrial development, undertaken for the purpose of making the supply of materials essential to our domestic economic activity less dependent upon the vicissitudes of our unstable purchasing power.

Today that process of development is visible in other more complex basic areas of our economy, which are complementary to those developed earlier. The heavy chemical industry (sulphuric acid, alkalis, the light chemical industry (methanol and products of oxidization, derivatives of benzol, toluol and naphthaline, phosphoric acid), the machine tool, fertilizer, insecticide and fungicide, electrical, cellulose and building industries, all constitute the new areas of our economy toward which our attention is being directed.

In the past, industrialization was hindered by the absence of a deliberate policy of economic development. The increase in the national income was reflected in an increase in the incomes of the wealthy classes, with the result that large imports of superfluous goods were made to the detriment of capital goods. Today this situation could not be tolerated. In the absence of substantial economic cooperation, the country will have to exercise the strictest control over the resources made available by its exports.

The continuity of the process of economic development and the building up of the industries referred to above require capital and technical assistance. Whether capitalization is to be exclusively Brazilian—a situation which initially would call for great domestic sacrifice and firm control over international payments—or whether it is to be augmented by international economic cooperation, the expansion of technological resources and technical training are indispensable.



A Woman's Place Is Brazil

By CAROLINA NABUCO
Author of "Chama e Cinzas," "A Sucessora," and other best-selling novels.

THE first spot in Brazil where civilization loomed brightly enough to permit the social influence of woman was Pernambuco, where the northern coast stretches farthest toward Europe and the morning sun greets the New World. It was colonized from the first by aristocrats. The wealth of the Colony permitted its distinguished immigrants to set up something of the society they had known in Europe. The ships sailed away laden with sugar and precious woods and brought back comforts and luxuries. "Pernambucanos dress"—wrote the Jesuit Fernao Cardim who visited Brazil in 1583—"and dress their wives and children in all sorts of velvets, damasks and silks, and in this they know no measure. The women have the manners of great ladies. . . . In short, there is more vanity in Pernambuco than Lisbon."

But throughout the colonial period and later through the Empire, the truly typical Brazilian woman was not the wife of a merchant nor of a government official who remained in town, but rather the wife of a landowner or *fazendeiro.* Her husband was lord of all the land she could survey from the windows of their large, low house with its gay tiles.

In a predominantly agricultural country, whose wealth was based on the exploitation of slave labor and earth's fertility, life was easy for the owners. The white women of Brazil had an existence similar in many ways to that of southern women in the United States. The *fazendeiro*'s wife was well-born and had never known manual labor. The climate did not help to make her active. She was

OUTSTANDING among Brazil's beauties, actress Bibi Fereira descends the grand staircase of Rio's National Theatre.

gentle by nature and dutiful. She bore many children, accepted the rule of her lord and master and treated the slaves with Christian charity and motherly interest. In Brazil there was probably a closer bond of sympathy and familiarity between the big house and the slave quarters than in the United States.

Feminine culture in those days was very limited. The sons were sent away to study; as for the daughters, their gentle birth and strict religious training were considered sufficient education. Many were not even taught to read. They were married early—sometimes at 13—to some youth chosen by the father.

Time and new generations worked few changes in these rural establishments, but the abolition of slavery, decreed in 1888, destroyed them at one blow.

In Pernambuco women gave important assistance in the "underground railway," which helped fugitive slaves to escape. There was, for instance, the *Clube do Cupim* (Termite Club), whose motto proclaimed the principle of the insect: "To destroy without sound." It could not have carried out its purpose so effectively without Dona Olegaria da Cunha, wife of the abolitionist leader, Jose Mariano da Cunha, who took upon herself the hiding and feeding in her attic of sometimes as many as a hundred fugitives.

Until recently, the Brazilian woman's ideas on life were characteristically Latin. Her reading, for many generations, was exclusively French, although today the young people prefer to learn English.

A slow change in her outlook is however being brought about by the growing prosperity after a long period of stagnation, and by the advent of the working girl, who will never go back to her previous dependent status. In the old days she did not need pocket money because she was kept strictly in the house, but today she cannot live without nylon stockings, without motion pictures, fast transportation, and all the accessories of the modern world.

There have been a few feminist movements, but women have shown themselves generally indifferent to political emancipation and when the vote came to them in 1931 it was without a fight or any special effort on their part.

The average woman is intelligent, not intellectual, and rarely pursues her studies beyond the *ginasio*, a course finished at about sixteen. Even that much education is limited to girls of the higher classes. There are no special universities for women. Those where men study for the professions are attended also by an insignificant number of girls.

In the first legislature after women were given the vote a woman was elected to Parliament as a deputy from Sao Paulo. She is Dr. Carlota Pereira de Queiroz, a distinguished physician. Dr. Bertha Lutz, the Brazilian feminist leader, was elected *supplente* from Rio, and acted as deputy for a short period. Neither, however, was re-elected and no other women have occupied political posts.

A notable exception is Dr. Heloisa Alberto-Torres, who has distinguished herself as director of the National Museum. Among pianists the name of Senhora Guiomar Novaes has attained merited fame.

Among women writers today, Lucia Miguel-Pereira, an essayist and biographer, holds a high place. So does Rachel de Queiroz, who rose to fame at nineteen when she published *O Quinze*, a novel picturing the drought of 1915, one of those periodical calamities that afflict the north of Brazil and from which the population finally flees, leaving behind nothing but the parched earth and the carcasses of starved animals.

Women poets of fame are Maria Eugenia Celso, Gilka Machado, Henriqueta Lisboa and Adalgisa Nery.

Names of women add a romantic touch to Brazilian history. The earliest is that of the Indian girl, Paraguassu, Brazil's Pocahontas. The savage tribe of which her father was chief captured the Portuguese Jose Alves Correa. The Indians were about to slay him when Correa shot down a bird with his gun and instantly became a god to the tribe. He was renamed Caramuru and lived for years among the Indians, married to Paraguassu. One legend has it that when he sailed away to Europe without her, Paraguassu threw herself into the ocean to swim after his ship. But in fact she sailed with him to become the darling of Europe.

Annita Garibaldi was the beloved Brazilian wife of Giuseppe Garibaldi, the Italian patriot who spent five years in South America as an exile. When, in 1839, the southern provinces of Brazil rose in arms to become a republic, the rebels engaged Garibaldi to assist them. Annita, on board her husband's ship, took part in every battle.

Another famous Brazilian is Anna Nery, the patron of hospital nurses. In the war against Paraguay, 1865 to 1870, she was the first South American woman to attend wounded soldiers on the battlefield.

But the woman who left the most indelible mark on Brazilian history, and whose name is justly revered with that of her father, the second Emperor of Brazil, is Isabel, who was his heir presumptive. During Pedro II's two voyages to Europe she assumed the role of Regent. She signed in 1871 the law that gave freedom to the unborn children of slaves and in 1888 the law that abolished slavery in Brazil. On the first occasion she acted merely as the constitutional sovereign who had no choice but to sign the law approved by the Nation's Parliament. But in 1888 she acted as a princess who placed the love of freedom above the conflict of parties.

The Republic was proclaimed eighteen months later and there is no doubt that the disappointment of the rich planters who lost their slaves was a factor in the overthrow of the monarchy and in the exile of the imperial family.

The Princess Isabel never regretted freeing the slaves. Though it cost her her throne, though she lived in exile for more than thirty years and never saw her country again, she always said that she would sign the law again if she were to relive her life. All Brazilians are proud of *Isabel a Redentora*, Isabel the Redemptress.

Not Tomorrow, Today

By A. M. LEDERER
Partner, Morris and Van Wormer Consulting Engineers

SOME years ago it was the fashion for show-offs on Rio-bound ships to impress their cynicism upon neophyte fellow-voyagers with the wisecrack, "Brazil? It's a country with a future—and it always will be."

Today you can say that without the snicker. Brazil has a future and it is a well-nigh limitless one. Furthermore, that future is budding, stirring, germinating, pulsing with conscious life and purpose. Brazil and Brazilians are on the way. There can be no question of it in the mind of anyone who has seen Brazil since the late war. The only questions for her sister nations are whether and in what way we shall go along with this greatest of South American republics.

Brazil's flowering won't be easy. The balance sheet of her assets and liabilities is heavy on both sides.

On the asset side:

Natural Resources. Brazil is fabulously wealthy in certain minerals such as iron, manganese, nickel and chromium, is richly supplied with many others in known deposits and may well possess comparable wealth (in petroleum, for example) in areas not yet explored. Her land is capable of producing food in abundance, along with lumber, fibres, seeds, oils, waxes, rubber and other products of sun-and-soil.

Population. Fifty million people is a world-power-size population—and Brazil's is growing at the rate of a million a year. Partly because of her high birth rate, people are young: their average age is about 20! Culturally they are homogeneous, with a strong national sense and pride. What is more important, Brazilians are friendly, honorable, tolerant, helpful and remarkably industrious. Moreover, her people show certain dynamic factors which we shall notice presently.

Record. Brazil has always been a good neighbor. She has shown constantly increasing respect for the dignity and rights of man within and without her borders. Industrially she has made the most rapid progress and is today the most industrialized of any South American nation. Cities like Rio and São Paulo compare with the finest metropolises in the world.

As against these, any devil's advocate can list Brazil's liabilities. And it is worth listing them precisely in order to show that all but a few can be disposed of.

Nature's handicaps. The greater part of Brazil is hot and humid—a deterrent to human if not to vegetable energy. Brazil apparently lacks sufficient mineral resources in copper, tin, sulphur, lead, zinc, and nitrates. Her known coal deposits are poor in quality and difficult to work. Her petroleum resources, while promising, are so far largely unconfirmed. More significantly, Brazil's major resources are located at inconvenient distances from one another; for example, 23% of her potential hydroelectric power is in the Amazon System—most of it many hundreds of miles from any location at present logical with respect to raw materials or markets.

Food. The diet of the ordinary Brazilian is deficient in cereals, meat, fish, eggs and milk, and averages (according to the UN's Food and Agriculture organization) about 260 calories a day short of the desirable minimum.

Agriculture. Until recently Brazil's agriculture has been typically either that of the small farmer with a grub hoe or that of the big landowner with no conscience. Worse, in the process Brazil has suffered soil-exhaustion, forest depletion, imbalance of crops (she imports large quantities of wheat and dairy products, much of which she could raise) and the enormous nationwide distresses of a series of one-crop economies (sugar, cotton, rubber) culminating in the still current over-reliance on coffee, subject to a fluctuating world market.

Transportation and Communication. Brazil has no well-developed railway system; her rail lines are few and fragmentary. Her highways are not as yet capable of serving an integrated economy; she has only about 165,000 miles of roads of which scarcely over 1,000 miles are hard-surfaced. Her river transport is undeveloped. Her telephone system is deficient in extent and integration. Her postal system, outside the cities, is slow and uncertain.

Power. Brazil's developed resources of coal, petroleum, and hydroelectric power are inadequate. On the other hand, alcohol (from abundant sugar cane) hints at the possibilities of enormous future power that may be developed in Brazil and other tropical countries, as mankind discovers new ways to use the power of sunlight.

Vestiges of feudalism. Until recently, Brazil had only two important classes of people: the upper, including large landowners, heirs of an imperial aristocracy which endured until 1889; and the lower, which included millions of share-croppers, bare-subsistence farmers and unskilled, underpaid laborers. Though a vigorous, rapidly-growing middle class has developed (and has been responsible for most of Brazil's recent economic progress), the distribution of income is still far from a well-integrated national economy.

Economic uncertainty. Still prevalent, though declining, in Brazil is uncertainty among investors and entrepreneurs, reflected in an all-the-traffic-will-bear profit-ratio in business operations (no one raises eyebrows at profits of 100%, 200% or more per annum), in high interest rates and in a disposition of investors to put their money into real estate or foreign securities rather than into industrial or commercial ventures in their own country.

Lack of hard-money exchange. Brazil could speedily remedy certain of her material difficulties if she could buy the equipment everyone knows she needs. But the dollars required for such purposes are lacking. It is not merely that Brazil is normally a debtor country. There is another and an ironic fact. Millions of the dollars which Brazil would like to spend for equipment are now spent to import goods that could be produced at home by that very equipment if it were purchasable. Brazil spends more than $300 million annually to import a long list of commodities including cement, coal, aluminum, iron and steel, tires, paper, caustic soda, earthenware and glass, most of which could eventually be produced (or, in the case of coal, replaced) in Brazil, if Brazil had $300 million or so a year to buy the equipment for producing them. (Parenthetically, this is nearly the estimated amount required for imports to implement Brazil's SALTE Plan, described below.)

To this list of undisputed handicaps may be added two, of which there is much to be said on both sides:

Economic nationalism. There are some unresolved contradictions between the Brazilian Constitution and some of her laws pertaining to requirements of employment and ownership of Brazilian enterprises. Although some laws seem especially stringent in that respect, practical application has been generally lacking. A harmonizing of the laws with the Constitution would do much to end confusion of interpretation.

It must be said that Brazil's attitude toward foreign capital is a square-shooting one. Confiscation or discrimination against foreign capital as such is constitutionally banned; no American firm has ever been expropriated; and direct American investments in Brazil have been notably and uniformly profitable.

Statism in economics. In Brazil, the freedom-to-act, and hence the initiative, of the individual and the enterprise are much more closely controlled by the state than in the United States and Canada. This is in accord with current social and political theory in Brazil and perhaps it is in many ways essential to solution of certain Brazilian problems which, as above noted, arise from lack of organization or of public-spirited cooperation in the use of national resources. Yet many Brazilian leaders argue that the greater part of their nation's recent striking industrial progress has been achieved in spite of, rather than because of, government control.

Whether or not we agree that these two situations constitute handicaps to Brazil's progress, there can be no question as to the serious difficulties imposed by the others previously named. That Brazil has made the industrial progress she has in the last few decades is amazing. It is as though an inexperienced and inadequately equipped mechanic, with a bad cold, no breakfast, and one hand tied behind his back, should produce a television set in one morning's work.

Brazil could not have done this except for a certain dynamic quality in her people. Her new middle class, which has emerged in the last generation, is as rich in purposeful, resourceful, public-spirited citizens as her prodigious ore is rich in iron: technicians, professional men, editors, educators, statesmen and business men in the best sense of the word, cooperative, intelligent, honorable and energetic. These are the mainspring, the driving force, of Brazil's development. From them the Brazilian people have taken a resolution to make their future a reality, and soon.

This resolution shines out everywhere you look at the Brazil of today. It is evident in the policies of her government, conspicuously in the SALTE Plan which aims to create basic conditions favorable to economic development by a concerted program to improve health (Saude), foodstuffs (Alimentos), transport (Transporte) and power (Energia), but notably, too, in education, social legislation and the encouragement of business enterprise. It is apparent in the number and activity of planning, economic and technical councils, research foundations, official and quasi-official. It is visible in the programs of associations of both business and professional publications, educational and cultural institutions. It keeps bobbing up in talk with Brazilians of every type; to them Brazil's future is a live, an endlessly fascinating topic.

This is not wishful thinking. It is purposeful thinking, and it gets translated into action whenever it gets half a chance, as witness the multitude of new construction projects you see at every turn: plants, office buildings, stores, power houses, bridges, dams, highways, and the proliferation of Brazilian industrial undertakings. Brazil is on the move. She will solve her problems because they are soluble and because she has what it takes basically to solve them, which is intelligence and courage.

If she gets the help it is to our interest to give her, she can solve them with relative speed, if not with ease, for they are difficult, as we have seen.

Governments should examine existing measures, laws and treaties to facilitate business transaction between the US and Brazil, to encourage the investment of private capital, to ease travel restrictions, the use of foreign technicians and the exchange of managerial talent.

Business and finance in both countries should devise methods of joint private investment channels for those investment possibilities which do not easily lend themselves to large-scale underwriting financing.

The UN organization, through its technical assistance program and in active, integrated cooperation with the World Bank, the Economic and Social Council of the Organization of American States and the Point 4 organization of the US can immeasurably help in building Brazil.

The material and the tools to do the job are present. Enlightened leadership by governments, business and labor, all pulling together, will inevitably make Brazil's Future its Present.

The Workingman's Place

By MARCEL DIAS PEQUENO

Acting Minister of Labor, Industry and Commerce

It was the 1930 revolution, following the 1929 world crisis, that intensified the movement for laws to safeguard labor in Brazil. The Brazilian government joined the International Labor Organization after the Versailles Treaty, but practically no benefits resulted for labor. The ILO approved various agreements for adoption by member governments, some of which did so. Several agreements of this sort were presented in the Brazilian Congress, but action was not taken, and they lay dormant in committees until, with the 1930 revolution, the legislative power was abolished.

The Constitution of 1934 set forth the concepts within which labor legislation would be constructed. Again, the Constitution established in 1937 enumerated in Article 137 fourteen principles to be followed in ordinary legislation. And, finally, the 1946 Constitution states in Article 145 that work is a social obligation.

Article 157 of Brazil's present Constitution lists 17 rules which ordinary legislation shall observe. These are:

1) Minimum wages should meet the normal needs of workers and their families, in line with regional conditions.

2) Wage differences on the same kind of job are forbidden for reasons of age, sex, nationality or marital status.

3) Wages for night work shall be higher than for day work in the same line.

4) The worker shall directly participate in the profits of the firm in the manner to be set forth by law.

5) The working-day shall be no more than eight hours, except in cases and conditions established by law.

6) The worker shall have a weekly day of rest with pay, preferably on Sunday, and within the limits of technical requirements of the enterprise, shall be paid for civil and religious holidays in line with local traditions.

7) The worker is entitled to yearly paid vacations.

8) There shall be protection of health and safety of the worker.

9) Labor by minors under 14 is prohibited.

10) Women and minors under 18 may not work in unhealthy occupations.

11) Minors under 18 may not work at night, with those exceptions established by law or by judicial action.

12) The woman worker with child shall have a right to rest before and after giving birth, without loss of employment or pay.

13) There shall be a fixed percentage of Brazilian employes in public service concessions and certain branches of industry and commerce.

14) There shall be job security for the city or rural worker, and indemnity on dismissal, in the cases and conditions established by law.

15) Collective bargaining is recognized.

16) Medical assistance, including hospitalization and preventive medicines, for workers and pregnant women.

17) Unemployment assistance and social security, through contributions by government, employer and worker, covering maternity, illness, old age and death, and obligatory insurance by the employer against accidents on the job.

Elaboration of a future Labor Code will be a task for the coming years, after farm labor in Brazil has been brought within legal regulation. The problem occupies the serious attention of Brazilian executive and legislative authority as well as the classes concerned. Improvement of the living standards of farm workers and their retention on the land are urgent needs today in all parts of Brazil.

The recent census showed an enormous growth in Brazilian cities. Some, like Sao Paulo, Recife and Porto Alegre, almost doubled population in the past ten years. Our cities are irresistibly drawing farm workers, who thus get higher wages and the safeguards offered under labor law to workers in industry, commerce and similar activities.

Individual or group disputes in worker-employe relations, as covered by social legislation, are settled by the Labor Courts, which, under the administration of President Dutra, came under the guarantees and prerogatives of the judicial system. Article 122 of the Constitution states that the organs of this specialized justice are the Superior Labor Tribunal, the Regional Tribunals, and

the conciliation boards and judges. Equal representation by employers and employes was assured.

The first specific decree on protection of the Brazilian worker came in 1931 when the activities of the Labor Ministry began. This was the so-called "Two-Thirds Law." It established that all firms employing more than five persons had to keep the percentage of Brazilians at two-thirds or more, and that if the employes were in various categories, each category of three or more also had to maintain the two-thirds rule.

This law may seem strange for a country which even today needs and encourages foreign immigration. But it should be considered that it met two urgent requirements of the time. It protected the Brazilian worker who could not compete with the foreigner, especially the European, who came from a highly industrialized civilization and was much more skilled in his trade. And another purpose was to avoid unemployment, especially in Rio and Sao Paulo, where it was springing up at the time following the 1929 economic crisis and the 1930 revolution. The law was afterwards modified in line with Brazil's immigration policy; and the present Constitution does not fix specifically the percentage of Brazilian employes to foreigners, who may be more or less, in accord with eventual circumstances.

The minimum wage is also temporary and variable, being fixed according to economic statistics of each region. It may thus be adjusted in line with the conditions of crisis or prosperity through which Brazil passes.

President Eurico Gaspar Dutra has been zealously working to broaden legal guarantees and benefits enjoyed by workers. Under his government the rate of construction of popular housing was noticeably increased. From 1946 to the present there were built four times as many of these houses, destined for the use of those insured under the government's pensions, lending and social security agencies, as in the 15 years between 1930 and 1945.

In the field of social policy, one of the important acts of the Dutra administration was the re-organization, now completed, of the Union Tax Commission and the Technical Commission for Union Orientation. These two commissions, under the Labor Ministry, were set up to foster development of the spirit of organization and to organize a systematic plan for application of the Union Fund.

It will be remembered that the Inter-American Social Security Conference in 1947 recommended that the countries of this Hemisphere should

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set up national employment services. The new service set up by the Union Tax Commission will meet this recommendation and also an immediate need of the Brazilian community. It will operate in the main urban centers, aiding the unemployed and listing job-seekers from 14 to 60 according to their aptitudes, using the scientific guides followed in countries such as the United States. It will also try to solve the grievous problems of farm workers who migrate en masse with their families, reaching the cities in poverty. Migrations from the Northeast are frequent and become especially serious in years of drought, when crops are killed off.

The condition of many of these workers who come from North or Mid-Brazil becomes sharply critical at times, for they and their families swarm into the slums of the cities without means of making a minimum living. All will be aided by the services of the Union Tax Commission and given new chances for employment.

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This Month's Books-of-the-World

By ATTICUS

The Pleasures of Reading

SOMEWHERE recently I heard of a gentleman who had the mental curiosity to inquire of all persons turning pages in a large public library why they were there reading. The most frequent answer was "to kill time." It may be our modern mechanical civilization gives us too much time to kill, as well as too many causes for killing our fellow men. Or the case may be wholly otherwise. With less back-breaking toil and a little more time on our hands, who can say that we may not arrive at rational solutions of the problems of our disjointed world?

To the man or woman urgently tempted to kill a little time by reading, I suggest the deep pleasure of acquiring some understanding of how human society might be made to function more smoothly. It is the sort of pleasure that comes to the car owner who learns to tinker with the motor and keep it in apple-pie condition. Moreover, the tinkerer's pastime has a meaning beyond himself. Kids raised in tinkerers' homes are the stuff that makes a nation of engineers. Perhaps only when millions delight in browsing through books of popular economics, geography and history, rubbing shoulders with the political and social theories that underly governments, will we raise up a generation of leaders capable of developing a "knock-proof" world order.

A Success Formula

It's no disgrace to kill a little time with books about the problems of Asia, the Marshall Plan, the meaning of democracy, the United Nations —even if we only have time to skim. The contact with new ideas stretches our mental muscles. I have a friend who is an expert in the international field. He told me that years ago Lord Cecil, "father" of the League of Nations, said to him: "Young man, skim all the books you can lay your hands on. If you glean only one or two ideas from each, some day you will know far more than most men."

Many of us read our newspapers through a fog of half-notions concerning the principles involved, the location of the places named, the identity of the men who are shaping history. I have a friend who clings tenaciously to a conviction that the United States should foster huge exports, but bar imports and stop pouring the taxpayers' cash down foreign drainpipes—though any high school economist could tell him that his handling would shift the US gears from boom to bust. I know people who are very excited about the UN's police action in Korea—though they couldn't hitch the Korean peninsula to the Asian mainland, nor bound it on the north.

Page the Answer Man

If you want to see what I mean, try yourself out on some such simple little quiz as this:

SUMATRA—is it a city in Persia —an island in Indonesia—an American crooner—a South American fruit?

PYONGANG—a river in Tibet—an Indian card game—the capital of north Korea—a Chinese musical instrument?

KURT ADENAUER—a Viennese atomic scientist—Chancellor of West Germany—a Swiss orchestra conductor—a deported US communist?

R. G. MENZIES—Britain's Minister of War—US Ambassador to Russia—Prime Minister of Australia—Canada's labor leader?

THE OLDEST PARLIAMENT still functioning—is it in Saudi Arabia — Peru — Iceland — Great Britain?

If you hesitate over one or more, don't worry; just realize that bringing the world into your mental focus is more fun and more rewarding than watching the fights on television.

The Season for Bi-focals

October is a very good month to step up the use of your bi-focals. The harvest is at hand. The books that have ripened on the publishers' grapevines are a necessary stimulant for the hard-thinking that lies ahead. In books as in wines, every man to his own taste, and those I may mention here are only a sampling.

One I rather fancy is *A Geography of Europe* by Jean Gottmann (Holt, $6.75). Back in far-off school days we were inclined to see geography as the wearisome process of learning the names of mountain chains, rivers and cities that had nothing to do with ourselves. Today we know better. We know that the coal of the Ruhr valley, the wheat of Normandy, the high walls of the Alps and Pyrenees and the long watercourse of the Danube, the "sea moat" around the British Isles, have had a direct relationship to the everlasting struggle for peace and social justice. It is this close communion of humanity and geography that Gottmann brings out in an able text that looks backward and forward in the social and economic setting. Copious photographs help to dramatize the author's thrillingly readable

story of the struggles of European Man.

Europe's Heart

While you are on Europe and geography, give yourself the treat of reading Andre Siegfried's "*Switzerlands A Democratic Way of Life*" (Duell, Sloan & Pearce, $3.00). It's a small volume, and the translation by Edward Fitzgerald recaptures the simplicity of style and clear-cut thinking of the great French economic geographer, whose understanding of the forces at work in both the Eastern and the Western Hemispheres have made him universally famous. This book is no chore. It will explain to you why the creeping invasion of communism has left Switzerland untouched, and the blend of human aspirations, historical and environmental factors that have enabled this country in the heart of Europe to develop a social climate of tolerance and unity among people of differing language and three distinct traditions.

People Are So Human

Because we are human, we all like books about people better than those which deal exclusively with abstract ideas. In fact, the personalities are what illuminate the ideas and give them essential meaning. We're all trying as hard as we can to understand what is holding up international action for the control of the atom, which threatens to destroy us. Before you get into the complications of the subject, do be sure to glance at a little book about a man who sat down on a park bench under a shady tree and thought it all out. You know of course whom I mean. His story is called *Bernard Baruch: Portrait of a Citizen* by W. L. White (Harcourt, $2.00). Such a fabulous character, such a sound and practical adviser to US Presidents there surely never has been. For him, growing old meant merely stepping up the hours of work. "How can you take it?" he was asked during World War II. His reply: "As long as there's a German or a Jap left, and a pretty woman to look at, I can stand the pace."

Baruch's plan for controlling the atom, as you may know, is the basis of the plan that was adopted by the majority of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission, but flatly rejected by the Soviet Union. The Baruch story will give you the basic notions. Then—but only if you're a specialist in the atomic field—you might dip into a really scientific treatise just published: *The Effects of Atomic Weapons*, prepared by the US Atomic Energy Commission and the Department of Defense (McGraw-Hill, $3.00). If you're not a mathematician or an engineer—well, stick to the first one. Though even a five minute skim of the second will give you the idea of what the atom, uncontrolled, can do.

A Man Named Truman

From presidential advisers, it's an easy leap to presidents—and why not Harry S. Truman? The little man in the White House is now, and probably always will be a controversial figure, any way you look at him. He's also one through whose experience you come to grips with the major problems of our time. Two books about the President have just been published: *Truman, Stalin and Peace* by Albert Z. Carr (Doubleday, $2.75), and *The Man of Independence* by Jonathan Daniels (Lippincott, $3.75).

The first is *must* reading. It's a simple, clear-cut, short yet exciting analysis of Truman's foreign policy, drawing upon hitherto undisclosed facts to give you the inside story. The headings suggest the contents: Part I, Why Stalin Started the Cold War; Part II, How Truman Kept the Peace; Part III, Why We Failed in China; Part IV, How Germany Won the Cold War; Conclusion, Where to Search for Peace. And here's a quote from the book, just to make you think: "War is the traditional way out of a nation's intellectual, moral and political quandaries. Enduring peace, on the contrary, would require

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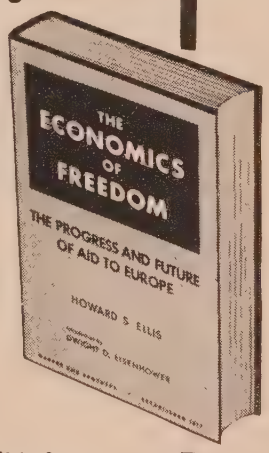

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many people voluntarily to give up cherished advantages, real or imaginary."

The Man of Independence is the homespun success story of a Missouri farm boy who made it to the White House. In between the lines of type, you'll read something of the story of all us Americans, happily somewhat run-of-the-mill, but brilliant as we need to be when we face a challenge to preserve the democratic way of life against threats from without or from within.

Planned Democracy?

One more suggestion for a little time-killing in the "serious-book" field. Peep into *Freedom, Power and Democratic Planning* by Karl Mannheim (Oxford, $5.00). It may help you wipe out that oldfashioned prejudice that planning is only for totalitarians. The author, whose work is published posthumously, was Hungarian by birth, a great sociologist, professor at the University of London. He makes the point that fascism did not believe in the perfectibility of Man or his society, but only in exploitation; that Marxism starts with a fanatical belief in the perfectibility of the social order and is ready to shatter the environment rather than wait on gradual reform. But of the democratic way, he says: "Our task is to build a social system by planning of a special kind: planning for freedom; planning for social justice; planning not for a classless society, but for one that abolishes the extremes of wealth and poverty, planning to encourage the growth of personality—in short, *planning but not regimentation.*"

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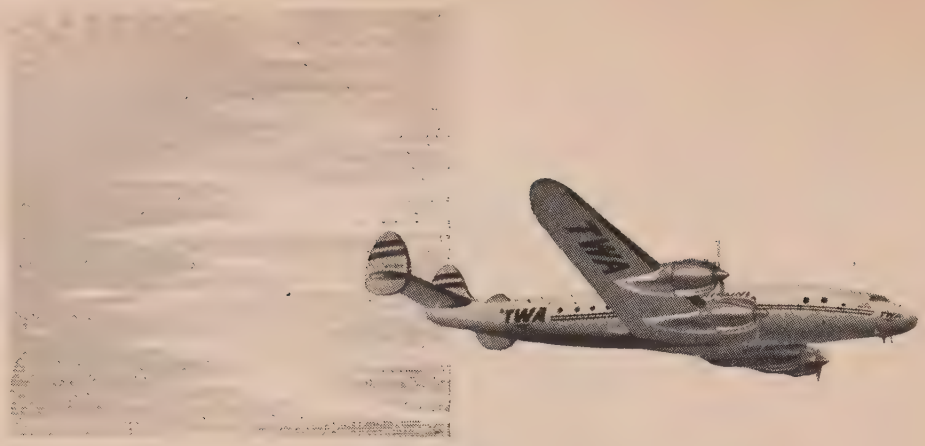

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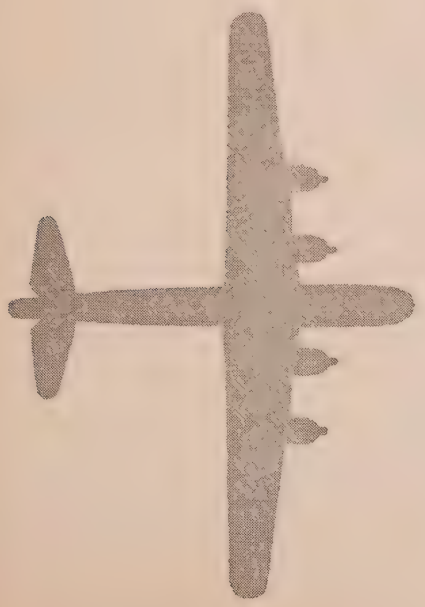

By SIR WILLIAM P. HILDRED
Director General, IATA

RED tape, inefficiency, discourtesy, unnecessary suspicion at national borders, heavy-handed border controls and the rest of it can be, and very nearly have been, the bane of international flying. Directly or indirectly, they affect the passenger, the shipper of goods, the airlines, the governments and the taxpayers who often stand behind them all, holding the bag.

Let me explain what I mean. The terms I will use will be, for the sake of clarity, the blackest possible. Things are easier now, but if you were one of the unlucky ones among the 5,000,000 people who used the airlines for international flights last year, you had a pretty good idea of what red tape can do to a passenger.

First of all, you had to have a passport. If you were an American, you had probably never had one before, so you spent a good deal of time writing Washington, answering questionnaires and waiting for replies.

Safe and Secure *continued*

Then, some of the countries you wanted to visit required visas. A visa, which is one of the most damnably unnecessary things ever devised, is a rubber stamp, costing from one to ten dollars, which says that the country's consulate has seen your passport. A consulate is an office maintained by a foreign country which is usually located at some distance from where you live and open only at oddly arbitrary hours. The visa doesn't mean a clean bill of health; if some immigration inspector at your destination doesn't like the colour of your hair, your necktie or your politics, out you go anyway.

Once you started travelling, you found that the filling out of papers had only just begun. You declared your baggage in and out of every country, in detail. You confided to various governments where you had spent the last 14 nights and where you expected to spend the next 14. You revealed how long ago you had had the chicken-pox, how much money you had and in what currencies; what your temperature might be; and various other things you would otherwise tell only to the person you were married to.

Often you did this in draughty sheds, or in no sheds at all with the rain coming down. You waited on the pleasure of minor functionaries. You were shouted at in languages you didn't know. Strange hands took your passport away from you and left you documentless in the outer darkness. Someone poked a thermometer of dubious cleanliness in your mouth. You were pushed, prodded and uncomfortable. It had all taken your time, cost you money and conspired to take the edge off one of the greatest pleasures known to man—foreign travel.

Perhaps you were a shipper of goods. In that case, you were lucky, for the airlines cargo department or one of many cargo agents certificated by them, took care of the documentation. But there were countries to which you didn't use the speedy services of the airlines because their government requirements for documentation, or the penalties they assessed for innocent errors and omissions, frightened away you or the airlines.

If you were an airline man, you could figure a triple headache for every passenger, or every piece of baggage or cargo carried. An airplane is a piece of property and it moves through space, which is chopped up into many nationally-owned compartments. Every country through whose air you fly or at whose airports you land is interested in the plane and its contents. Certain data it must have; certain other details it likes to have; and experience has shown that there is always a lit-

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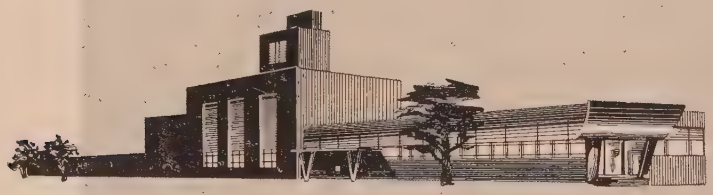

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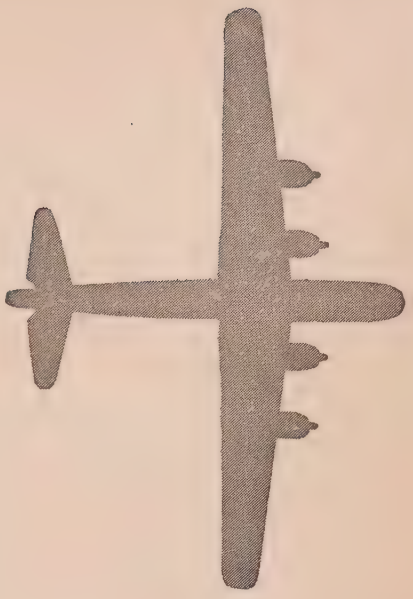
How to bring about a dream-world without visas, red tape, customs inspections and other nonsense



tle bit more required because it was of some use in the days when there was some fear that horses in pack trains might have the epizootic.

The airlines were not only faced with an insatiable demand for information, but with an incredible variety of forms on which to provide it. Some were long and narrow, some short and wide.

You must not think that this paperwork was a minor aggravation. At the height of this affliction of red tape, it required more than 1,000 copies of various documents to get an airplane, its cargo, passengers and crew across the Atlantic and back. To get a year's schedules of one transatlantic airline properly documented for take-off required more than 10,250 man-hours of work.

A familiar word in many countries is "perquisites of office." Sometimes these perquisites—collections from fees, fines, etc.—are the main compensation of government officials. Thus, in some places, the airlines faced the anxious eyes of frontier officials eager to find the slightest flaw in documentation, so that an excuse could be found for some stiff penalty that would pay the week's household bills.

And the crowning indignity—one which we have not yet been able to remove—is the fact that the airline is finally responsible for anything that is wrong with the documentation of passengers. If someone shows up at New York International with a perfectly valid passport and a bona fide visa from an American consulate abroad, he can still be refused admittance—and he must be returned whence he came at the airlines' expense.

The cost of all this rigmarole has been tremendous. It still is. Whilst it is not always possible to trace down the costs to the last penny, I do not think it an exaggeration to say that compliance with border regulations costs the international airlines at least $40,000,000 a year in indirect expenses—about $8.00 a head for each passenger they carry.

I have put all this largely in the past tense because, thankfully, much of it is past. That this is so is due in large part to the intelligent cooperation of governments and airlines of many countries and to the recognition by operators and regulators alike that to serve the fullest purposes of mankind, air transport must be as free from arbitrary obstruction as possible.

It is due to the fact that aviation is still young enough to make anyone connected with it a little of a crusader that the first moves toward postwar governmental regulation of international flying included definite steps toward eliminating red tape. The obstacles had been experienced on a smaller scale before the war and the men who met to draft the International Civil Aviation Convention at Chicago in 1944 knew they would be magnified by the great expansion of flying and by the accretion of wartime suspicions and controls. They therefore made certain that one of the specific tasks of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) which was founded by the convention, was what they called, for lack of a crisper term, "the facilitation of international air transport."

The airlines were simultaneously organizing their own International Air Transport Association (IATA) and facilitation was written large as one of its first objectives. Both IATA and ICAO set up their headquarters in Montreal and started the world-wide campaign which has now cover the globe.

The first step toward greater freedom of travel was the drafting of what could be offered to governments as standard maximum requirements for paper work, procedures, restrictions and the like. They covered virtually everything except financial controls, which vary according to the fiscal situation of the individual country, and health controls, which are largely the concern of the World Health Organization.

They adopted as their basic premise the idea that there is a fundamental difference between the immigrant and the man or woman who travels for business or pleasure. A country, like a club or a family, they said, has every right to take its own sweet time in deciding whether it shall welcome a stranger permanently to its midst. But the transient traveler is another case; he wants to come in for a short while, to see the country, spend a few dollars, pick up some new ideas and leave a few behind, in short, to add a little to the exchange of trade, ideas and friendship which is the lifeblood of a stable and prosperous world.

The eventual object was and is to eliminate the visa and even the passport, and to replace them by some simple, universal form of identity card plus, if necessary, a tourist landing card. As for other documents, it was hoped to boil them all down to a single form of manifest bearing the boiled-down information needs of all government departments concerned.

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Safe and Secure *continued*

But as a practical matter, these aims could not be achieved overnight. So they started toward the goal by easy stages.

In 1946, ICAO issued a first set of recommended practices for facilitation that brought some order into the chaos of documents and procedures. The response among its member states was heartening enough to make possible an even more liberal draft, with lower maximum requirements, in 1948.

Even more boldly, ICAO's 1949 Assembly decided to give this document the status of an Annex or integral part of the ICAO Convention itself and to put member states on notice that if they didn't specifically disagree, it would become virtually an international commitment by March 1 of this year.

This was perhaps a gamble, but a successful one. Put thus on the spot, governments declined to disagree—although some did take advantage of the right to file "deviations" from clauses with which they couldn't comply—and the actual measures for facilitation of international flying are now, in effect, part of international law.

Crusade for Simplicity

To anyone who has traced down the dry courses of international channels, this is practically a world-shaking achievement. In a great many ways, it represents the accomplishment in five years of what has still not been done in hundreds of years of international transport on the surface. To devise a set of standards for such a welter of forms and practices was in itself a tremendous accomplishment but to sell it to all of the various departments of all of the governments involved was another. This is where the airlines have come in.

Having put their own best brains in this field at ICAO's disposal for the intellectual effort involved, the IATA companies set up a chain of trouble-shooters and missionaries in every country served by international air transport to help persuade governments to the logic and necessity of what was proposed.

In many countries—and notably in the United States and Canada—IATA men assist in the formation of committees of government officials which visit their international airports and see for themselves what the traveler and the airline are up against. As practicing psychologists, they show frontier guards, customs and immigration men and others what the world looks like through the eyes of the uninstructed and sometimes baffled traveler who runs into them. They act as trouble-shooters, ironing out discrepancies between regulation and procedure.

The delicacy of their job has been aggravated by the resurgence of nationalistic feeling in many places. New nations sometimes seek to bolster their confidence by taking on all of the trappings of more established governments and out-doing themselves in motions and controls. Although the concept of one world must eventually be cemented by the use of some sort of universal language, there persists a postwar tendency to insist upon the use of many national tongues (we are still shivering at the thought that one country, whose language is practically unique, will enforce a regulation on its books that all business must be transacted in that idiom).

ICAO and IATA alike have had to push, and push hard, against the dead weight of precedent, that feeling that even a foolish thing, consistently done for a hundred years or more, acquires a certain sanctity in the process.

Uniform Form

Despite all these obstacles, the results of the facilitation campaign to date have been gratifying. By and large, internal European air routes and the transatlantic routes from America to Europe, the Middle and Far East, South Africa and Australia are substantially free from red tape complications. The amount of docu-

mentation required of aircraft in international service has been reduced, streamlined and unified. One form now serves over routes where a dozen were required a short while ago.

An increasing number of countries have agreed among themselves to drop the visa requirements for each other.

Despite the alarms of war, preoccupations with senseless security have been relaxed in many places. The construction of new airport buildings and the improvement of old establishments have provided new and better facilities for handling international traffic on the ground.

Sore Spots

This is a great deal, but the job is by no means done. To achieve even the present goals of the ICAO Annex, we must still clean up a great deal of mess along the air routes from North America to South America and throughout virtually the whole of the Pacific. And, due to government "deviations" from the ICAO Annex, there are still sore spots here and there throughout the rest of the world.

I know that my friends in the U.S. government will not misunderstand my saying that the United States still represents a major bottleneck in this campaign.

The many administrative agencies of the United States have been most cooperative and helpful, but unlike many other countries where border controls are covered by departmental regulation, many of the specifications of the U.S. frontier system are written into law. They can only be changed by specific Congressional action, and legislative bodies move even more slowly than government departments.

U.S. action is the more important because many other governments tend to follow its procedures as a model or, in somewhat inverse fashion, to apply to U.S. citizens the same disabilities that the U.S. applies to theirs.

There are still other facilitation objectives yet to be explored. So long as governments insist upon visas, we are now trying to get them to standardize the form so that, despite the possible unfamiliarity of the languages involved, they all say the same thing in the same place. We are now trying to draw up minimum specifications for international passenger clearance facilities at airports so that they can go through the frontier routine as quickly and as comfortably as possible. And we are probing into the possibilities of setting up more international free airports like the free zone at Shannon in Ireland.

Red Tape vs. Jet

As air transport advances technically, the need for facilitation and all it implies increases in proportion. A three-hour wait for consular clearance did not mean much to a sailing captain starting on a two-month voyage. But a three-hour ground delay in the course of a 14-hour flight begins to eat dangerously into the speed and ease of communication on which the whole structure of air transport is based.

If, as we confidently expect, the introduction of jet equipment will enable us to span the Atlantic in about six hours, the problem of red tape becomes extremely serious. If we cannot streamline the formalities of governments, the vast amounts of money, time and ingenuity invested in scientific progress will be almost entirely wasted.

Ironically in this jet age, the fight here is to push back the clock. I, for one, should like to see it pushed back about 700 years to the days when the Barons of England at Runnymede forced their sovereign to sign what I consider to be the ideal statement of facilitation policy. You will find it in chapters 41 and 42 of Magna Carta, and all it says is this:

"All merchants shall have safe and secure exit and entry, with the right to tarry and to move about, for buying and selling by the ancient and right customs, quit from all evil tolls. . . .

"It shall be lawful in future for anyone . . . to leave our kingdom and to return, safe and secure."

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- SPRINGFIELD FIRE AND MARINE INS. CO. Established 1849
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- THE FIDELITY & CASUALTY CO. OF N.Y. Established 1875
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- GREAT AMERICAN INDEMNITY CO. Established 1926
- HARTFORD ACCIDENT & INDEMNITY CO. Established 1913
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The Mission of the IATA

The Annual Meeting of the International Air Transport Association, which convenes this month in San Francisco, should provide a lesson in unity which, I believe, holds special significance for all of us at this critical time in history.

For the sixth time since World War II, the leaders of seventy companies in one of the world's most highly competitive industries will meet in general session to demonstrate that they can find a working basis for cooperation.

The first meeting of IATA was held at The Hague in 1919. In the succeeding thirty-one years the membership has grown to global proportions. Some of the members are nationalized carriers and thus instruments of Government; others are managed by private enterprise. Some are large, operating over routes spanning several continents; others are dependent entirely on the traffic between adjacent small countries. In many respects their interests are diverse and their managements are renowned for rugged individualism. But over the years they have learned that their one common objective—the advancement of civil air transport on a truly world-wide scale—requires a considerable measure of cooperation through some such voluntary agency as IATA.

The primary motivating force of the international airlines of course is economic. But in encouraging and promoting air transportation, the members of IATA know that they are accomplishing another and greater purpose. Every international traveler is a contribution toward world understanding, simply because it is difficult for an individual to feel hostility toward those who have welcomed him and become his friends, and whose aspirations and problems he understands.

This year's tremendous volume of travel from the Western Hemisphere nations to the countries of Europe, the Middle East and the Orient—greatest in many years—exemplifies man's desire to know more about his fellow men and how they live. As Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt said in one of her recent columns, it is more important than ever in these times of stress that this exchange of ideas and understanding be not only maintained but broadened.

This is the most important objective of IATA's meetings, and the San Francisco meeting is confidently expected to achieve further progress toward the goal of faster, safer, more convenient and economical air transportation throughout the world.

WARREN LEE PIERSON,
President of IATA,
Chairman of the Board,
Trans World Airlines

Wings for the Average Man

International air travel provides wings for world commerce. It speeds the tempo and stimulates the volume of trade. And it directly bolsters the economies of many countries through the flow of American tourist dollars to help plug the dollar gap.

Countries outside the Iron Curtain must have dollars—to rehabilitate their economies, to halt and roll back the tide of tyranny, and to remain free. Marshall Plan dollars contributed by the American taxpayer are temporarily filling the dollar needs.

But tourist dollars are as good as tax dollars. They are as good as dollars paid for goods imported into the United States. In 1949 some 2,000,000 American tourists left one billion dollars in foreign countries. That sum can be vastly increased—by making it possible for more Americans to go abroad.

The average American, with two or three weeks paid vacation, cannot go tourist-class by boat. He lacks the time. To go abroad, he and his family must go overnight and at a price they can afford. The airplane has overcome the barrier of time. The next job is to make international air travel available to more people by putting fares within the reach of the average man. Only in that way can international air transport make its full contribution to building a prosperous and peaceful world.

JUAN T. TRIPPE
President, Pan American World Airways

Safety and Service Throughout the World

The tremendous strides of international aviation during the post war years grew out of the 20 years of pioneering in the development of US commercial air service and the extensive experience the United States gained throughout the world during World War Two.

During that conflict, the US established a vast network of air bases, built communication facilities and trained personnel to man these vital links in our defense.

US airlines played a major role in Uncle Sam's globe-circling operations during the war years. The airlines operated world-wide service, turned over airliners to the Air Forces, our pilots entered the service and many of us aided in the training program of the Air Forces.

After the war, we applied the experience we gained in extending our commercial airline routes to the far corners of the earth. The extension of these routes was not only feasible and practical, it was quite simple, compared with what it would have been had we not had the facilities and know-how gained during the war. Today, our international schedules are as dependable as our domestic operations.

Braniff Airways, for example, during 1949 produced a record of 99.09 per cent of schedules completed and, during the first six months of 1950, completed 99.82 per cent of all its schedules in Latin America.

Air travelers on the routes of Braniff Airways through Latin America today enjoy flight and ground service comparable to service provided by the airline in the United States.

Braniff Airways has flown more than 1,500,000,000 passenger miles at home and abroad without a fatality among passengers or crews. And other international carriers have fine flight safety records.

The all-out efforts of the airlines to establish and maintain the highest possible standards of flight safety and service throughout the world has been costly, but it is paying off.

TOM E. BRANIFF
President, Braniff International Airways

A Common Code of the Air

Through straightforward dealings at the conference table it has been possible for some 70 airlines in more than 40 countries to work together toward a single important objective—freedom and ease in world air travel. It is gratifying to see that through the International Air Transport Association the problems and thinking of so many diverse interests have been brought into the open for discussion and solution.

This cooperation, patience and goodwill has transcended differences of languages, national origins and cultural backgrounds and has yielded invaluable benifits not only to the members of IATA but to world commerce and travel. The organization and its accomplishments are proof of the effectiveness of the democratic processes.

The organization's varied membership, representing both governmental and private interests, is fully aware of the importance of standardization to airline operating efficiency and consistent quality of service. Through IATA the member companies have smoothed the way for increased international air travel and shipping by establishment of a code of common traffic practices and documents, standard rate structures and interline agreements.

Freedom in world air travel is essential to a better understanding of world problems. IATA has the machinery for continued orderly development of air transportation so important to all peoples and nations around the globe.

W. A. PATTERSON
President, United Airlines, Inc.

Stalin and Peace

(*Continued from page 19*)

combined. In Soviet thinking, this means the *reserves are on America's side.* This is probably why the USSR did not take responsibility for the Korean war, has suddenly become tender toward Iran, and is violently supporting the Stockholm Peace Petition to outlaw the A-Bomb. Behind the barrage of bitter anti-American propaganda, the Soviets are actually behaving with great caution.

Last July a crucial incident occurred in the USSR which fully reveals the preoccupations of the Kremlin.

Bulganin, Politburo member in charge of Soviet armed forces, had stressed in his 1948 speech on Red Army day that more than military and economic potential are needed to win war. He declared that there also must be war aims which can remain popular a long time.

Acting on this theory, the Soviet Government early this July sent out a trial balloon to its people. At nationwide meetings to collect Soviet signatures for the Stockholm Peace Petition, Communist propagandists began to preach: "Hands off Korea," "America, get out of Korea!" Within four days, these speeches stopped. Peace meetings continued throughout the month, but the propagandists sang a different tune: "If attacked, we will defend our socialist motherland!"

In the end, out of all these moves and counter-moves, some definition begins to emerge. Certainly the Soviet political high command has probed every potentiality underlying the present situation. On balance, it would seem indicated that *Stalin will try to keep the USSR out of war, even at the risk of losing face for Communism in Asia, in Europe—and everywhere else in the world.*

The stake is great, the temptation powerful but the forces that stay Stalin's hand are still overwhelming. Already in Moscow, it is probable, the propagandists are preparing the details of the new party line, that good, wise, peace-loving Stalin made the supreme sacrifice for peace, and yielded Korea to the capitalist scoundrels.

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The first immigrants from Switzerland settled in Brazil, starting an era of uninterrupted friendship between both countries which has deepened during the years with the steady growth of cultural, commercial and financial ties.

Switzerland by virtue of her outstanding position in international finance and her vital dependence upon foreign trade has long devoted special attention to business opportunities in South America. Success in this field was made possible by the easy adaptability of the Swiss to the trading customs, systems and mentality of the Latin Americans. Brazil's growing importance in Swiss foreign trade is reflected by the fact that in 1948 she became Switzerland's seventh largest customer, ranking second only to the United States in the Western Hemisphere.

As Switzerland's largest commercial bank, we have naturally played a leading part in financial and trade intercourse between the two countries. With the inauguration of our London Branch more than fifty years ago the gateway was opened for an active participation in the financing of Brazil's general international trade. The opening of our New York Agency just over a decade ago gave further impetus to our South American business, principally with Brazil whose economy is so closely interwoven with that of the United States.

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World Aviation Means World Peace

By DR. ALBERT PLESMAN
President-Director,
KLM Royal Dutch Airlines

THE future development of the world largely depends on the development of international transportation.

Modern man is no longer confined to the immediate neighborhood of his town or his country. The range of his interests is world-wide. He can follow the course of events all over the world, and he can travel, should he feel so inclined, in any part of the world—except where there are political restrictions, as in the territories under Russian domination.

Thanks to present-day transport and communication facilities, man has acquired a broader outlook, an outlook which embraces the whole world. A world community may come into being as a result of the ever-increasing extent to which man's fate is bound up with that of the world as a whole.

Transport is the principal means by which this can be accomplished, but this agency is by no means employed to the best advantage. Whereas shipping enjoys the freedom of the seas, air transport is subject to restraints. Many nations have created artificial barriers which impede free international traffic.

People will never be able to acquire the proper mental attitude towards the world community unless such handicaps are first eliminated and contact between nations and individuals encouraged. In other words, the ideal aspect of international transportation must be put before the economic aspect, since the factors which are allowed to predominate (and which give rise to the restrictions in question) are mostly economic. The national position is safeguarded by a short-sighted protectionist policy which, among other things, prevents the establishment of an integrated system of air routes.

Long-distance international air services can only be operated on a remunerative basis if the aircraft are allowed complete freedom to land and pick up passengers, mail and freight in other countries along the route. Bearing this in mind, one can appreciate the disastrous effect of restrictive policies on international air transport.

Nowadays the different countries endeavor to secure as many rights as possible from one another by concluding bilateral agreements. As a general rule, these rights are granted on a very limited scale, with the result that civil aviation is confined in a straitjacket of legal and economic formulae. This haggling over commercial privileges, however, cannot furnish a solution to the problem of world transportation. A solution can only be found if today's problem is viewed in the light of its world significance and if people have enough courage and faith to strive for a multilateral agreement which will mean freedom in the air.

World transportation is not primarily a national or legal problem. It is an ideal and a philosophical desideratum. It is also indispensable to world peace.

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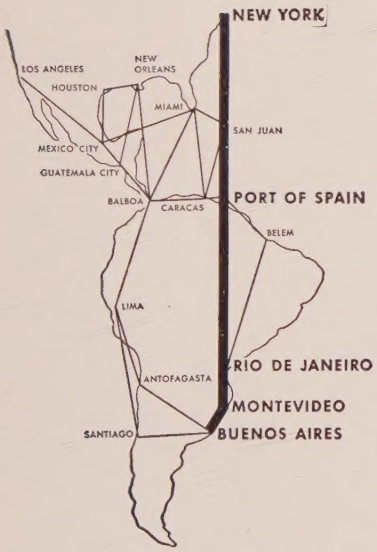

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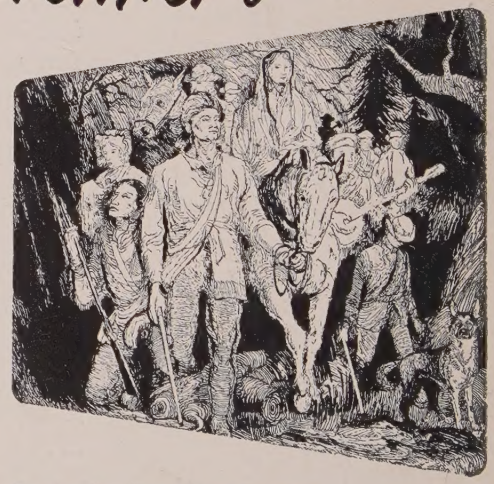
There's always a new frontier!

So rapidly has television grown that each day sees new proof of its potentialities as a service to the Nation and the public. The tremendous impact of recent UN telecasts is just one more striking example of this truth.

There's always a new frontier, and two of the most challenging have sprung up together in the past 5 years in political and industrial science—the United Nations Organization, and television as a full-scale public service.

> Already, millions have seen the UN at work through television. Speakers are brought in lifelike reality into our living rooms—to afford an intimate understanding of events . . . *Fascinating hours of education in international affairs!*

Wherever you find television, you find a better informed citizenry *and the means of achieving a better world for all.*



Remember how the pioneers,
as history tells us, lamented the passing of the frontier? They were wrong. New frontiers are everywhere. UN and television are good examples of today's new frontiers.

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